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Editorial

A CHANGE IN THE EDITORIAL FAMILY

It is with great regret that we record the retirement of Mr. Clarence W. Gleason, of the Roxbury Latin School, Boston, as an associate editor of the CLASSICAL JOURNAL. Mr. Gleason had held this position many years before the present editor-in-chief came into office, and has always been very effective in gathering classical news from New England. Now that he has retired from teaching at the end of a distinguished career of fifty years, we can well understand that he should wish at the same time to relinquish his other duties to a younger man, and so we have accepted his resignation in accordance with his desire, and wish for him many years of life free from obligation but filled with happiness.

In the same spirit we welcome into our family as his successor Mr. George E. Lane, of Thayer Academy, Braintree, Massachusetts. Mr. Lane succeeds Mr. Gleason also as Secretary of the Classical Association of New England and in this capacity will be in a position to give our readers live news from that section.

E.T.

DIVINITIES AND DIVINE INTERVENTION IN THE *ILIAD*

By WALTER PETERSEN
University of Chicago

In a recent article in the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* (XXXII, 4-18) James Duffy has discussed Leaf's theory that divine intervention in the *Menis* or original nucleus of the *Iliad* differs from the kind often found in the later expansions inasmuch as in the *Menis* the gods always act as befits the rulers of the universe, whereas in the latter their interference often takes a more irrational shape. After he re-examined the various instances in which the gods intervene in the affairs of men, he came to the conclusion that there was no difference in principle, but that the type of interference found in the *Menis* is the same as that in the other parts of the *Iliad*. I am sure, however, that this conclusion was due to a varying interpretation of what Leaf meant, for Mr. Duffy maintains (p. 17) that "it is difficult to understand what Leaf means when he says that the interference of the gods in the *Menis* is such as becomes the rulers of the world." He concludes that the only possible interpretation is that Leaf thought of divine intervention as being on a higher moral plane in the *Menis*, and then refers to his own proof that such is not the case. Nevertheless it seems clear that Leaf had no ethical standard in mind when he drew the distinction. What he meant was that in the *Menis* the interference of the gods was not interference with nature, but that they stood behind nature as the ultimate causes, in other words, that they were brought in to explain something which took place through a natural chain of cause and effect,¹ so that the story of the *Menis* would go on just the same if the gods were eliminated altogether.

It is the same universal tendency to refer to divine influence all

¹ In one sense the miracle of the speaking horse (T 404-417) is a solitary exception, but once it is granted that it occurs, it was brought about by the usual method of divine intervention in the *Menis*, i.e., by Hera, who caused it without leaving Olympus and without appearing on earth. However, it is perhaps significant that Aristarchus considered vs. 407, the only one in which divine influence is mentioned, as spurious.

extraordinary although natural events which is characteristic of other ages as well, including our own. Everywhere a startling thought that comes from we know not where, a feat of strength or dexterity which surprises the actor himself, a stroke of genius in art which transcends the ordinary and therefore apparently the natural, is referred to divine inspiration and to divine guidance, and in a comparatively naïve society like the Homeric² such assumptions would be made even on a larger scale than in more sophisticated ages.

An examination of the instances of divine intervention in the *Menis*,³ i.e., in any part which may have belonged to the original kernel, shows very distinctly that they all belong to this common type, that in every one of them a god, who acts behind the scene, as it were, and does not come out into the open, is invoked merely to explain a human action that is natural but out of the ordinary. Since it is the attitude of the poet himself which we are investigating, we must confine ourselves to the evidence of the narrative, although words put into the mouth of his characters show that he did not differ in this respect from what he conceived the attitude of others to be. Thus when Agamemnon finally comes to see the error of his ways and apologizes for his actions to Achilles (T 87), he finds it convenient to put the blame on Zeus and Fate and Fury, who put the impulse into his mind. Nor did this shallow shift of responsibility raise a laugh of derision among his hearers, but it passed unchallenged, for all of them were wont to put their own shortcomings on the broad back of Zeus in the same way. So universal was this practice that in the very beginning of the *Odyssey* before the assembled gods Zeus (a 32-43) complains of man's habit of saddling the blame for his own misdeeds upon the gods. However, such manifestations of popular opinion in the dialogue cannot be cited to show what the poet himself thought of divine intervention, and for this reason we must, at least for the present, confine

² It is natural also that poetry would assume divine intervention on a larger scale than prose.

³ Since Mr. Duffy's arguments are based on the *Menis* of Leaf, not only on those parts which are believed to have belonged to the original nucleus by wellnigh universal consent, I am also taking Leaf's analysis as the basis, although disposed to disagree in some respects, e.g., as to the inclusion of any part of B in the *Menis*.

ourselves to the narrative part of the *Menis*, for which the poet is sponsor.

The activities of Zeus may be dismissed with a very few words after our definition of the species of divine intervention found in the *Menis*, for Mr. Duffy admits that the rôle of Zeus is to direct the course of events from above, although he does claim personal interference on two occasions (p. 7). However, a careful consideration of these shows that they also are not to be taken in the sense that Zeus actually appeared on the scene to work a miracle, but they are of the common type. When he "draws Hector from the darts and the dust" (Λ 163), it is not meant that he takes a trip down from Olympus and drags Hector away with his hand, but, as elsewhere, he is working by remote control to put into Hector the impulse to withdraw. Even in the case of O 694⁴ τὸν δὲ Ζεὺς ὤσεν δπισθεν|χειρὶ μάλα μεγάλη, "Zeus thrust him behind with strong hand," every analogy from all parts of the *Iliad* forces us to conclude that the statement is meant figuratively. The personal non-interference of the dignified father of gods and men is in fact so much an established principle that even the poet of the *θεομαχία* did not represent him as taking part in the conflict personally but merely as taking in the racket from above and bursting out into laughter at the others (Φ 389 f.).

The question of the nature of divine interference in the *Iliad* thus concerns only the other gods. Of these Athena appears for the first time in Α 194. As the quarrel between the two became more and more noisy and fierce, Achilles seemed able no longer to control his temper and was about to kill Agamemnon, when a second thought restrained him—a miracle to every one present who witnessed the scene, a miracle to be explained only by the intervention of Athena, the friend of both, instead of by the natural effect of a sobering second thought! In Α 434-438 a spear-thrust by Socus goes through the shield and corslet of Odysseus and penetrates his skin also, but stops short of inflicting a serious wound. What a miracle to those who saw it and trembled for his safety! Of course some god must have helped, and Athena, his patron

⁴ Many consider all of O as belonging to the expansions, so, e.g., Jebb, *Homer*, 159.

goddess, gets the credit. A rationalistic and prosaic presentation would tell us that the thrust of Socus had not been quite hard enough to inflict mortal damage. In O 668 the mist suddenly lifted from the scene of combat and a flood of light was shed upon the battle-field, a perfectly natural phenomenon, but referred to Athena because it came on such an occasion that it seemed purposeful. In B 446-452⁵ the appearance of Athena with the aegis to arouse the Achaeans is purely symbolical. She is invoked to help explain the natural eagerness of the Achaeans for battle after they had been inspired by much oratory, apparently favorable omens, and the trumpets of heralds. The last appearance of Athena in the *Menis* comes in X 214-225 in the final combat between Hector and Achilles. After the mad pursuit of Hector by Achilles around the walls of Troy had reached the stage in which Hector realized that his strength was ebbing and that the time was not far off when he would be forced to fight, he became reconciled to it through the aid of a hallucination, a phenomenon apt to occur to a man wearied by overexertion and terror and despair at his failure to escape. He thinks he sees his brother Deiphobus, who comforts him and promises to aid him, and then stands his ground only to find out later that he had been betrayed by his imagination. Of course anything as rare as a hallucination would be attributed to a god, and this one coming at this particular moment could come only from a hostile deity, from Athena, the patron goddess of Achilles. Also the part played by Athena in advising Achilles to stand and get his breath is a still more transparent explanation of his weariness from the long race and his desire to be at his best before the impending combat.

The account of the struggle between Hector and Achilles contains two lines which would seem to constitute the single exception to the rule that in the *Menis* gods are brought on the human stage only to explain natural occurrences in which man is the real actor. These are the ones (276 f.) in which Athena returns to Achilles his spear after he had missed Hector, and the latter did not observe her as she did it. This miraculous character of her action alone would cause the suspicion that the lines were interpo-

⁵ Cf. note 3. So also Jebb, *loc. cit.*

lated, a suspicion increased by the fact that they can be removed without affecting the continuity of the narrative, and still more by the elimination of several elements of improbability by their absence. How could the poet intend for us to believe that Hector even for a moment did not see such a large object as a spear in the hands of Achilles? How is Hector's belief that Achilles had no spear to be harmonized with his conviction that his own doom is at hand when his spear could not penetrate the armor of Achilles? By the elimination of the two lines concerned everything becomes rational. The poet of the *Menis* intended us to understand that the spear which Achilles had in his hand when Hector rushed upon him was the one that had rebounded from the shield of the former. As it dropped, Achilles picked it up. Hector saw it, and realized it was all over when he found out that the presence of Deiphobus had been a hallucination, and there was no other spear for himself. Apparently, then, some later rhapsode, who had different ideas about divine intervention, did not understand how Achilles came to have a spear in his hand and inserted the two lines with the crude and impossible explanation.

The appearances of Apollo in the *Menis* are without exception of the same type as those of Athena. His sending of the plague to the Achaeans at the very beginning of the action of the *Iliad* is a typical example of the tendency to refer to the purposeful activities of the gods all natural disasters which befall mankind. In A 354-360 he is not even mentioned in the narrative as causing the recovery of Hector from his daze when his helmet had been struck by the spear of Diomedes. It was the latter who put the blame upon Apollo, the god of healing, as was natural in every instance of a sudden unexpected recovery. On the other hand, the poet himself mentions Apollo in II 528 as finally stilling the flow of blood from the wound of Glaucus, and yet it was the same naïve explanation of nature's healing process. The wound inflicted on him by the arrow of Teucer was not mortal but a fairly deep one, and naturally the blood flowed long enough to cause grave concern; but finally it had to stop and did stop, and Apollo, to whom he had prayed, gets the credit. During his wild rampage Patroclus (II 702-705) was foolhardy enough to try to take Troy, but was

repelled, of course, by its impregnable walls. Apollo, however, the partisan of Troy, receives the credit for this as well as for the inspiration of the resulting dread in the Argives and of Hector's courage to attack Patroclus. It is to be observed that in the latter instance (715-725) Apollo assumes the form of Asius, i.e., he is conceived as having spoken through the latter to accomplish what seemed too difficult for human powers of persuasion. Only apparent also is Apollo's direct intervention in II 788. After a display of energy and prowess far beyond his powers to maintain, Patroclus was certain to suffer a rebound. Whether the poet thought of him as stunned by a sudden panic or through the physical effects of overexertion makes no difference. He was dazed, let his defensive as well as offensive armor slip away from him, and became an easy prey to his enemies. Apollo's interference here too is only a naïve or poetic interpretation of a natural effect, and does not introduce anything miraculous. Also the minor appearances of Apollo in the later books of the *Iliad* conform to the regular type. When he suggests to Hector (T 376-378) to keep out of the way of Achilles, the former's own sense of prudence could have told him the same thing. When in the preliminary meeting of the two⁶ Hector's spear misses Achilles and the former slips away before the latter has had a chance to size up the situation, it is a mist spread only around Hector by Apollo which is used as an explanation. When Apollo arouses Agenor (Φ 545) to make a stand before Achilles to save Troy, he is merely suggesting a thought that would come of its own accord to a man whose courage is aroused by being brought to bay where he apparently cannot escape by flight. When he too slipped away, the mist of Apollo is invoked a second time, and when in his eagerness Achilles mistook another man for Agenor, the poet explains by the common poetic fiction that Apollo took his shape—how otherwise could the man of mistaken

⁶ It is extremely dubious whether the story of this earlier match between Achilles and Hector (T 421-444) really did belong to the *Menis*. That Athena blew back Hector's spear so that it dropped in front of him might perhaps be rationalized to mean that he was close enough to pick it up when it rebounded from the armor of Achilles, but even so it is not expressed in the manner of the *Menis*, and it is suspicious that Athena to a certain extent aided Hector, whom she hated as the enemy of Achilles, by letting him recover his spear.

identity have escaped the fleet-footed Achilles? The final appearance of Apollo in the *Menis* comes in X 203-213, when he puts strength into the failing knees of Hector as he is pursued three times around the walls of Troy by Achilles. The apparently super-human strength and endurance required to keep off the most fleet-footed of the Achaeans for so long a time was caused of course by his excitement and mortal terror. Ultimately the exhaustion from this sustained effort was bound to make Hector an easier victim to the man of superior natural endurance. These facts are explained in the Homeric way by telling us that Apollo first strengthened the limbs of Hector, and then deserted him when the scales in the hands of Zeus were weighted down against him.

The three gods mentioned, Zeus, the ruler of the universe, Athena, the partisan of the Achaeans and patron of Achilles, and Apollo, the friend of the Trojans and protector of Hector, are the only ones who affect the action in the *Menis* to any appreciable extent, and even their interference with the affairs of mankind is invariably one behind the scenes, as it were, to explain occurrences that can be traced to a natural sequence of cause and effect. Zeus directs the course of events from above; the others go down to the human stage and yet do not act like human beings, but merely suggest, inspire, direct human actions, which would take place in the very same way if the gods were not credited with being their ultimate cause. This is the only kind of divine interference with which human beings can possibly come in contact, the only kind they possibly can know, whereas tales of visible action by the gods in their own person, without employing as means human beings or the forces of nature, can only be figments of the poetic imagination. The fact that the poet of the *Menis* did not invent or record stories of this type shows conclusively that his interests were indeed, as Leaf declares, purely human interests, and that the gods interfere only as befits the rulers of the universe, i.e., as powers that work through natural causes, not by capricious appearances in the flesh to do something in which human powers and human thoughts are not involved.

It has been observed that it is the *absence* of the latter kind of

invention which characterizes the *Menis* in contrast to some of the stories recorded in the expansions. Since the kind of interference of which the *Menis* made use is the kind ordinarily assumed by mankind to exist, it is to be expected that many examples will be found also in the later expansions. The only difference is that in the latter the gods are also at times represented as doing things which are inconsistent with experience as well as popular opinion and popular intelligence. It is Mr. Duffy's failure to appreciate this fact that causes him to cite a large number of passages to show that certain types of divine intervention are found in the expansions as well as the *Menis*—true, but irrelevant. The habits of the poets of the expansions, as contracted from their experiences as human beings as well as from the literary influence of the *Menis*, which was in many ways their model, necessarily resulted in the continual recurrence of this same type of divine activity in both strata. What is important is that the irrational and cruder type of intervention is found only in the expansions. Moreover, since more than one poet was involved in these, it need occasion no surprise that various conceptions inconsistent with each other are found in their various parts, and, if we could accurately distinguish the work of each poet, we might find that some of them even approached the point of view found in the *Menis*. An interesting case of an inconsistent attitude is that of the poet of the *Διὸς ἀπάτη* (Ξ). On the whole Poseidon⁷ is represented as confining himself to encouraging the Achaeans and inspiring their resistance in the manner of the *Menis*, but not only is his stay on the human battlefield more protracted than the gods of the *Menis* allow themselves, but he completely enters the domain of the supernatural when he shouts as loudly as nine or ten thousand men (Ξ 148). Inconsistent also is the interference of Aphrodite in Γ 374-420. As far as her rescue of Paris from Menelaus is concerned, there is no feature that would have been rejected by the poet of the *Menis*. Menelaus was dragging his vanquished enemy by his helmet, and Paris would have been choked by the strap if it had not burst,

⁷ In the "Little Aeneid" (Τ 325-329) Poseidon also enters the field of the miraculous intervention when he gives Aeneas a sort of seven-league-boots toss, so that he flies to safety far over the heads of the fighting warriors.

but while the former stumbled and threw the helmet aside, Paris slipped away. These perfectly rational occurrences are explained in the manner of the *Menis* by the intervention of the goddess. Also the following conversation, in which Aphrodite persuades Helen to make up with Paris, may in part be taken as an explanation of the motives which induced her to do so; and yet certain details of the conversation, such as her "talking back" to the goddess and her yielding to the latter's threats, suggest that this poet was not so careful about confining himself to purely human motives.

Perhaps the most enlightening episode to illustrate the difference between the gods of the *Menis* and those of some of the expansions is Διομήδους ἀπιστεία of E. Here are found a number of conceptions about divinities which cannot very well find a home inside of the same brain as those which limit divine interference to directing the course of natural events. Here Aphrodite and Ares actually enter the throng in their own shapes, so that they are recognized not by one person only to whom they may have suggested a thought or action, but by any one who might happen to be in their neighborhood. When Aphrodite carries the wounded Aeneas from the battlefield, she does not take the shape of some human being, but is recognized at once by Diomedes. He actually attacks her and wounds her, after which Ares lets her take his chariot, and Iris drives her to Olympus. Later in the same book Ares rushes on Diomedes in his own likeness, exactly as a human warrior would do, and, with the assistance of Athena, is also wounded by Diomedes. Here, then, we find a number of conceptions about divinities which are totally foreign to the *Menis*, not only the nature of the interference of the gods, but also the implication that gods are not invulnerable, and the curious explanation (E 340) that it was not real blood, but ichor, whatever that was, which flowed in their veins. The conception that human beings can wound and otherwise injure the gods is also found in the account of the wounding of Hera and Hades by Heracles (E 392-394), and in the strange story that Ares had been bottled up by a human being in a bronze jar for thirteen months, with the momentary suggestion that even death for him would not have

been beyond the realm of possibility (cf. E 388 καὶ νῦν κεν ἔνθ' ἀπόλοιτο Ἄρης ἄτος πολέμοιο). The concentration of so many peculiarities in the conception of gods and their ways would even by itself⁸ mark the Διομήδους ἀριστεία as the product of a mind of a different stamp from that of the poet of the *Menis*.

Another major episode which could not possibly have been composed by the latter because of a different conception of the working of the gods, is the ὀπλοποιία of Σ. Hephaestus does not merely suggest and inspire a human smith to make the shield of Achilles, but he constructs it with his own hand, and sends the selfsame product of his skill to the latter for his actual use. This conception very clearly brands it as belonging to a later stratum in the *Iliad*, a conclusion reinforced by the ease with which this episode also is removed without affecting the continuity of the narrative, and by the consideration that the minute description of a work of art betrays the influence of the Hesiodic school of poets, though, of course, it does not mean that its composer was not primarily one of the Homeric guild.

Besides the Διομήδους ἀριστεία the most astonishing instance of deviation from the attitude to divine intervention found in the earlier parts of the *Iliad* is the θεομαχία of Τ and Φ. Mr. Duffy admits the burlesque treatment of the gods (p. 17), but maintains that similar things occur in all parts of the *Iliad*. Again there are important differences. The comic scene on Olympus in A 536-600 has nothing to do with divine intervention on earth. When the poet tells of the strained relations of the henpecked father of gods and men with his wife, of his getting the worse of the argument, and then resorting to bluff and braggadocio and violent display of temper, all of this concerns only the relation of the gods to each other, whereas human affairs are not affected in the least. On the other hand, the θεομαχία is *in toto* a case of projected intervention with the course of a human battle. It will be illuminating to review some of its salient features in order to show how

⁸ It is hard to see also how the glorification of Diomedes in this episode is consistent with an epic composed in honor of Achilles—how e.g. the poet of the *Menis* could possibly represent Helenus (Z 98 f.) as saying that Diomedes is the best of the Greeks, not excluding Achilles even. More probably the Διομήδους ἀριστεία was the product of a poet who avowedly glorified the local hero of Argos.

utterly foreign also in other respects is its spirit to that of the *Menis*. In the first place, in spite of the avowed object of the gods to help their favorites, the effect of the whole episode upon the human warriors is not to encourage and inspire them or to make pertinent suggestions,⁹ as in the case of the rational divine interference in the *Menis*. On the contrary, it does not influence the action at all and it can be removed without being missed in any way. In contrast to the bombastic description (T 54-66) of the racket Zeus makes with his thunderbolt and the commotion Poseidon causes with his earthquake, which frightened even Hades lest the earth split wide open and reveal his kingdom below, the human warriors were apparently unaffected. If the poet of the *θεομαχία* had taken the slightest cognizance of what would have been the necessary effect of what he was describing, he would have told us that all the human beings who witnessed the scene either were paralyzed with fright or took to their heels in the most abject terror. Five pairs of gods arrayed against each other, of whom one of the lesser ones was enough of a monster to cover seven acres when he fell (Φ 407), much divine shouting in addition to the noise Zeus and Poseidon were making, and yet no effect on those present! Furthermore, even the fight among the gods themselves came to a ridiculous and burlesque end. It is true Athena was reported to have upset Ares with a stone's throw, but that was the least that could be expected, since even a human being had wounded him before.¹⁰ As for the rest, also the second ebullition of bombast about the contest (Φ 385-388) is in contrast with the tameness of what actually took place. Athena knocks down the insipid Aphrodite with her fist when the latter helps Ares off the battlefield, and Hera boxes the ears of Artemis when she remonstrates with Apollo for being a quitter, but of course there is nothing heroic about that. On the other hand, Apollo made the

⁹ It is true that in a conventional strain the gods are said to have encouraged the combatants and to have set them to fighting each other (T 54 f. τοὺς ἀμφοτέρους . . . δρύνοντες σύμβalon), but they had already started preparations before the gods appeared on the scene.

¹⁰ The composer of the *θεομαχία* evidently had before him the *Διομήδους ἀριστεία*, in which Diomedes and Athena had wounded Ares.

discovery that it would not do for him to fight with the mighty earthshaker for the benefit of mere mortals, and apparently gained the assent of Poseidon, while Hermes addresses himself to Leto in a similar strain and doesn't care if she claims a win by default. Perhaps the high point in the whole burlesque comes when Artemis, after being boxed by Hera, scampers away to Olympus and gets comforted sitting on the lap of Daddy Zeus.

Not only does this scene differ from the humorous scene on Olympus in A by its being a proposed attempt to interfere with human affairs, and by nevertheless not affecting the course of events at all, but it also goes far beyond the mild kind of satire that is found in the first book. In the latter a suggestion that Zeus might be interested in avoiding a domestic quarrel with the ever watchful Hera is followed by a moment in which he shows his solemn majesty by a nod which shook very Olympus. The *θεομαχία*, on the other hand, fades out into nothingness in a way that would indicate either a tasteless imitation of earlier scenes by a poor poet, or, more probably, intentional ridicule of the whole Homeric pantheon.

The difference between the *Menis* and the *θεομαχία* also shows itself in the lack of the sense of the realities of the battle,¹¹ which was so characteristic of the former, but which the latter ignored when it let the human warriors be unaffected by such violent noises that even Hades was frightened. This reveals itself also in the account of the battle with the river Xanthus in Φ, which is closely interwoven with the *θεομαχία*. At times the poet speaks as

¹¹ The same contrast, which applies also to other episodes besides the *θεομαχία*, can be illustrated by two examples of quite different character. The recitation of very long speeches and even genealogies by two warriors, who are about to engage in combat, and patiently wait and listen to the end, is not found in the *Menis*, but in the expansions we have at least two noteworthy examples, viz. the meeting of Glaucus and Diomedes in Z 119-236, which is, however, an episode of high poetic merit, and the extremely insipid and tedious speeches of the "Little Aeneid" in T 178-258. A second remarkable example concerns the mention of the bathtub (*ἀσάμβροτος*). The poet of the *Menis* did not forget that such paraphernalia would have no place in the equipment of an expeditionary force operating overseas for ten years, but the one who composed the *Δολώνεια* (K) did not understand the conditions under which the war went on, and has Diomedes and Odysseus entering bathtubs after their return from their nocturnal raid (576). Evidently he was imitating the *Odyssey*, and took no account of differing conditions, so that the use of the word marks K as being later even than the *Odyssey*.

though he is conscious that his story simply personifies the power of the water, at other times he seems to think of Xanthus as a real personality with human characteristics, as when he represents him as forced to give up the fight because the river god himself had been so badly burned by Hephaestus that he could not go on.

In contrast to the crudities of the *θεομαχία* stands the handling of the intervention of Hermes by the superb poet of the *Ἑκτορος λύτρω* of Ω. Nevertheless here too the difference between the conception of divine intervention found in the *Menis* and that of some of the later expansions shows itself. Like the appearance of Poseidon in the *Διὸς ἀπάτη*, the stay of Hermes is too long to be explained as merely suggesting a thought or action which was the natural effect of natural causes, but it is clear that the poet wants us to understand that the difficulty of finding his way through the lines of the Achaeans to Achilles and back again to Troy was too great for human prowess to overcome, and that in no other way than by divine help could Priam have accomplished his plan. That this was actually his intent is proved beyond doubt by the reappearance of Hermes after Priam had achieved his purpose with Achilles; for, if it was only a question of imparting to Priam the necessary information, one appearance would have been enough. Furthermore, in contrast to the gods of the *Menis*, who are recognized directly by those whose thoughts and actions they affect, Hermes announces his identity himself (Ω 460) after a long conversation in which he posed as a soldier of Achilles, and actually performed the services of the driver of the wagon. Clearly, then, we are here in the realm of the intentionally miraculous intervention of the gods rather than their intervention as the powers behind the forces of nature. Also beyond the natural is the divine protection of the body of Hector from decay even to the twelfth day (Ω 413-415).

An examination of the principal cases of divine intervention in the *Menis* and in the various expansions thus shows that Leaf was right in asserting that only in the expansions do the gods take part personally in the action in a way different from what is expected of the rulers of the universe, in a way that transcends the use of the gods to explain by their suggestion and inspiration actual

human thoughts and actions, which have their own rational immediate causes, but of which the gods may be conceived as the remoter or ultimate cause.

In addition to their difference of method in the use of divine intervention the *Menis* and the expansions differ as to which gods play important rôles or enter the action at all or are even mentioned (cf. Duffy p. 17, who quotes Leaf on Ares, Aphrodite, and Artemis). That Zeus, Athena, and Apollo are the three important gods in their relation to man in the *Menis* was mentioned above. Next is Hera, but she maintains her queenly dignity over against humanity, and does not appear on the earthly stage, for when she gave temporary speech to Xanthus (T 407), the horse of Achilles which foretold his death, she certainly is not thought of as actually appearing on earth. Even in the expansions she usually works through Athena (e.g. E 711-720), although in the *θεομαχία* she for once did appear below to take part in the fracas of the loudly trumpeted battle of the gods. Similarly to Hera, Hephaestus, the smith of the gods, appears only on the heavenly scene (cf. A 571-600) as far as the *Menis* is concerned, but on earth only in the later strata, as in the struggle with the river Xanthus mentioned above. It is clear, therefore, that the poet of the *Menis* did not think of Hera and Hephaestus as directly influencing the affairs of men even in the manner of Athena and Apollo.

The other gods of the Homeric pantheon either receive bare mention in the *Menis* or are ignored altogether. The names of Aphrodite, Artemis, and Hermes do not occur at all, for the supplement of the catalogue of the ships in which the two latter are found (II 168-197) is certainly not a part of the *Menis*. Leto is referred to only casually as the mother of Apollo (A 9, 36; II 849; T 413), Poseidon only in a comparison (B 479), in the spurious line A 400, in which Hera, Poseidon, and Pallas Athena are in apposition with *Ὀλύμπιοι ἄλλοι*, and in a long disquisition of Nestor (A 728) as being the recipient of a sacrificed bull. Finally, Ares, who appears with extreme frequency in the expansions, intervening there in the most direct way, is mentioned only casually in the *Menis*: in comparisons (B 479, A 295, 604, II 784, T 358), in the conventional phrases *θεράποντες Ἄρης* (O 733) and *μετὰ*

μῶλον Ἄρηος (II 245), and as a term for war itself (II 613, X 267). Nor does he enter the action of the *Menis* in any way whatsoever.

To assume this difference in the importance of the various gods between *Menis* and the expansions is accidental, although it corresponds exactly with the distribution of the kinds of divine intervention, is scarcely conceivable, particularly when it is realized that neither of these differences has been the criterion according to which the *Menis* has been separated from the expansions in the first place, but that such analysis depended rather on questions of probability as to what might reasonably be included in an epic of which the avowed subject is the wrath of Achilles.¹²

¹² The objections made against such analysis because various critics disagree widely on many points completely ignores the important fact that practically a unanimous consensus has been attained concerning very large portions of the *Iliad*. Whoever does not believe that a single poet wrote both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* from cover to cover, is certain that A, and most of A, II, and X belong to the original nucleus, and therefore to the very earliest parts of the *Iliad*. On the other hand, there is an equal unanimity of opinion that, the Catalogue of the Ships, e.g., the account of the Embassy to Achilles, the Dolon episode, the Battle of the Gods, the "Little Aeneid," the Funeral Games, and the Ransom of Hector's Body do not belong to the earlier strata. It is more remarkable that scholars can agree in so many important respects than that it has proved impossible to carry the analysis to the extent of being able with certainty to make a clean-cut incision in all parts so that the status of each verse can be determined.

A FEW INEFFICIENCIES IN ROMAN PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION

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The Romans are justly famous as efficient organizers and administrators in many fields but especially in the government of their vast provincial empire, once the flagrant republican abuses had been curbed. Their efficiency in government we most readily connect with the bureaucratic organization under Hadrian and his successors, but if Rome's system, like herself, was not built in a day, we should expect to find it already highly developed under his immediate predecessor, the benevolent but strict disciplinarian, Trajan. Trajan's interest was no more centered in the enlargement of Roman territory than in the efficient government, and in certain cases, the reform, of his provinces. It may be of interest, therefore, to peer briefly into the structure of his provincial government, where even in the generally excellent administrative machinery we may detect here and there a slipping cog. The examples are instructive as to the condition under which officials even of high rank were forced to work.

The material for this brief survey is drawn entirely from the letters of the younger Pliny and the Emperor Trajan, most of which relate to the former's administration of the province of Bithynia. Only a few selected letters are familiar to most readers, yet the collection as a whole paints a most interesting picture, no less of the two men and the problems with which they dealt, than of the administrative tools with which they had to solve them.

Bithynia was a senatorial province which had been so poorly governed that two of its recent proconsuls had been tried for extortion, Julius Bassus in 103-104 and Varenus Rufus in 106. Pliny

himself had defended both of these men and so must have been well equipped—though it seems an awkward situation to us—for the task awaiting him when he was sent out as governor of Bithynia in 111. It was not, however, as proconsul or appointee of the Senate that he went, but as special procurator representing Trajan, ostensibly to attend to the financial interests of the imperial domains in that province, but actually to correct the abuses resulting from the lax government of the past. For all his official acts in Bithynia, although it was a senatorial province, Pliny was responsible solely to Trajan, and was not hampered by any senatorial proconsular governor. Because of this situation we might expect to find a larger number and different kind of problems occupying Pliny's attention here than in another province, and to suppose, therefore, that Bithynia did not represent a normal province of that time. Be that as it may, the points that interest us here are not the evils of the Bithynian situation, but the inefficiency in certain matters attending upon provincial government, whether of a well-governed or badly-governed province is immaterial. That efficiency was below standard in Bithynia is suggested only, if at all, by the fact that it was not one of the more important provinces, and hence may not have been equipped with the full machinery of efficient government. At all events, it is the lack of such machinery—excluding military arrangements, for which Pliny had no need—that we shall find in his letters.

By an amusing coincidence a further caution is forced upon us. It is not the purpose of this paper to bring out the well-known facts of Pliny's character and his irrepressible fussiness as a governor. A separate account of Pliny's own inefficiency could be written simply by enumerating the trivial matters which he seemed unable or unwilling to settle without consulting the Emperor. One sometimes suspects that advice may only have been sought for the sake of the importance he felt in the personal correspondence with Trajan, or, to be less kind but more truthful, in the contemplation of the publication of his correspondence. Yet what pride he could derive from some of Trajan's answers is beyond the modern reader; one would expect him rather to hide the shame of such replies as epistles LXXXII and CXVII. Trajan's tone is always so re-

strained and polite that only infrequently does a mild amusement mixed with annoyance appear above the surface of the brief business-like replies. But these two letters are so curt and cutting that they merit a partial quotation as indicating the apogee of Pliny's insufferable fussiness. Epistle LXXXII begins, "You could scarcely have been perplexed about the matter on which you thought it necessary to consult me"; while epistle CXVII, after a general observation on the trifling inquiry made by Pliny, concludes, "It was for this very reason that I selected you, that your good judgment should guide the manners of the province, and that you should take whatever measures were necessary for its permanent peace." But such subtle stabs must have been lost on the hopelessly mediocre mind of Pliny.

All Trajan's answers bear the unmistakable marks of a secretary. They answer Pliny in words, phrases, and even sentences repeated or adapted from his own inquiries. We can almost see the exasperated Emperor glancing at Pliny's letter and muttering to a freedman scribe "Tell the fool 'Yes' " or " 'No'." The scribe then composes a formal answer from the text of Pliny's letter guided by the imperial monosyllabic order. But we doubt if kindly old Pliny ever saw through it. As if to emphasize its solitary position, one letter, and one only, which really did touch on a difficult point, drew from Trajan a reply which would have warmed Pliny's heart had he appreciated the tone of the others, for the Emperor begins, *Merito haesisti*.¹

But turning from Pliny's own incompetence, we see evidence of inefficiency elsewhere than in himself. If some examples still suggest rather Pliny's incapacity, it is only fair to suppose that his indecisiveness may sometimes have been due to the really complex or uncommon nature of the problem. To such a group probably belongs the only citation we shall make from his correspondence with Trajan before his assumption of provincial duties. In requesting Roman citizenship for a certain Egyptian physician, Harpocras, an honor which Trajan agreed to confer, Pliny forgot that an Egyptian, in order to become a Roman citizen, must first

¹ *Ep.* cxv.

possess Alexandrian citizenship. When Trajan was informed that Harpocras was not yet an Alexandrian, his final reply to Pliny makes it quite clear that only his earlier promise wins the request, for emperors had good reason to be chary of granting Alexandrian citizenship. That Pliny was ignorant of the prerequisite "would seem to show," according to an eminent authority,² "that it had not always been rigidly observed." But there is no need to be so charitable. If Pliny himself was not at fault, it is at least possible to charge the error to some difficulty in finding the law or to actual obscurity in it. Pliny's own words suggest the complex nature of the situation; he was corrected *a peritioribus*. Similar complications in our own laws of naturalization support this.³ Yet one would have expected a lawyer of Pliny's eminence to have consulted specialists before making his original request.

In provincial administration Pliny met with much inefficiency, the general nature of which only reminds us that administrative red tape is nothing new. This will be illustrated in the remainder of this paper by examples to which modern parallels will occur to every reader.

In building, repairing, and surveying for purposes of tax reform Pliny, on four different occasions, asked for an *architectus*, *librator*, *aquilex*, or *ensor*, presumably to be sent from Rome. The Roman government proved the equal of any modern government in the excuses and delays it offered to such requests. Only one of them was granted by Trajan, who perhaps recognized Pliny's inability to distinguish which undertakings really warranted the request. In epistle XVII he asks for a *ensor* to re-survey lands and thereby recover money from fraudulent contractors of public works. This request is refused⁴ by Trajan, who says that he needs all his surveyors for works at home.⁵ There is perhaps a note of annoyance in the added remark that surely Pliny can obtain in

² E. G. Hardy, *Pliny's Correspondence with Trajan*: London and New York, Macmillan, (1889), *Ep.* VI, with note *ad loc.* Cf. also *Epp.* V, VII, X.

³ E.g., the status of foreign-born children of naturalized aliens. ⁴ *Ep.* XVIII.

⁵ Hardy (*op. cit.*, *Ep.* XVIII, note *ad loc.*) names seven great projects going on in Italy about this time: repair of roads, new basin for Claudian harbor at Ostia, harbors at Centum Cellae and Ancona, the building of the Aqua Traiana, Baths and Forum of Trajan.

the province *quibus credi possit . . . modo velis diligenter excutere*. Evidently Pliny obeyed, for we hear later that the money was recovered. Again, when Pliny asks⁶ for two architects to supervise the building of a new aqueduct, necessary only because two earlier efforts had been abandoned because of bad planning and poor construction, Trajan is adamant. He commends Pliny for his diligence, commands him to determine the responsibility for the former waste, but does not even mention the requested architect. That architects were available in Bithynia is apparent from the third instance, where a new bath, a gymnasium, and a theatre were to be built. Scandal was again involved, for specifications of rival local architects were contradictory. So Pliny adds to his plea the words "to prevent the waste of public money and the misuse of your generous bequests." This request fares little better; the reply reads:⁷ *Architecti tibi deesse non possunt. Nulla provincia est quae non peritos et ingeniosos homines habeat*.

Such replies may at first only confirm the impression that these matters were regularly taken care of on the spot without red tape at Rome, but the very fact that Pliny, with all his fussiness, thought he might get a man from Rome, is evidence that there must have been some doubt as to just when one could expect such an official helper. As a matter of fact, Pliny's judgment of the importance of an undertaking was only once confirmed. In connection with an immense irrigation plan which would connect a lake with the sea and change the course of a river, he asked for *libratorem vel architectum*. Trajan sent *aliquem peritum eius modi operum* and instructed Pliny to get a *librator* from Calpurnius Macer, governor of Lower Moesia.⁸ Even in this case⁹ Pliny did not receive prompt aid. In epistle LXI he is still asking for the expected help, while Trajan merely repeats that Calpurnius Macer will send a *librator*, *neque enim istae his artificibus carent*, but says nothing of the man from Rome. Pliny, however, persists: "Don't forget to send one, *ut polliceris. Est enim res digna et magnitudine tua et cura*." Moreover the impracticability of Trajan's suggestion

⁶ *Epp.* XXXVII and XXXVIII.

⁷ *Epp.* XXXIX and XL.

⁸ *Libratores* were attached to the army, and since Lower Moesia was an imperial, and hence a military province, it would have them.

⁹ *Epp.* XLI and XLII.

about the *liberator* is clear when we realize that Byzantium, in the imperial province of Thrace just across the Bosphorus, is much nearer to Bithynia than Lower Moesia. Even Asia, though the overland journey might be longer, is not mentioned as a possible source of supply.

Both Pliny and the governmental system seem to have been inefficient in handling the case of slaves enlisted in the army. Such enlisting was contrary to law, and Pliny asks what to do about it, since the slaves in question, though having taken the military oath, were not yet assigned to any legion. Trajan dismisses this detail as of no importance, but outlines three distinct categories into which such slaves might fall, and which clearly merit different treatment. That Pliny could not see the real point at issue does not surprise us, but it is odd that Trajan, in spite of his business-like answer, mentions no general ruling on this subject, although it is abundantly clear that such occurrences were frequent. At best we can only interpret Trajan's reply as a paraphrase of some law known to him, but not quoted as such.¹⁰

The use of imperial passes (*diplomata*) for rapid transportation also gave Pliny considerable trouble. Though these expired at the end of every year, Pliny asks how long expired ones are valid. This letter¹¹ is usually dated in the first January after his arrival in the province, and he was faced, therefore, with a very real problem on account of his lack of experience. But, since this use of expired *diplomata* must have happened every year, it is strange that there were no routine arrangements for their renewal. Pliny's dilemma can hardly be attributed to any confusion in the administrations previous to his. The absence of regulation is further marked by the fact that Pliny himself had the power to authorize *diplomata* both for official business¹² and even for unofficial business, as when his wife used one to speed to her grieving aunt; although in this case Pliny felt obliged to explain his action to Trajan.¹³

More serious are two cases in which Pliny is disturbed by the possible application of laws retroactively. Shall a man, for exam-

¹⁰ *Epp.* XXIX and XXX.

¹¹ *Ep.* XLV; Trajan's reply is *Ep.* XLVI.

¹² *Ep.* LXIV.

¹³ *Ep.* CXX.

ple, have to reimburse the city for a public grant received more than twenty years ago because of Trajan's instructions that such grants should not be made? No date is given for these instructions, but in any case twenty years carries one back before Trajan's reign. Trajan's reply echoes the twenty years, taking it obviously as a round number, and rules that such a case will not be considered.¹⁴ Public grants to private citizens made for purposes which would ultimately benefit the city were so common that it is strange that Pliny should have had no instructions to cover such cases, seeing that Trajan had found it necessary to forbid them; but it is stranger that Trajan makes so off-hand a ruling which would clearly result in other cases either working retroactively or opening the question again if the interval were less than twenty years.

The second case¹⁵ was more easily and more fairly decided, though it involved special edicts which were frequently changed and hence made it natural that Pliny should request instructions. The facts are these: Victors in certain games decreed by the Emperor as "iselastic" were given pensions. Pliny reports that certain victors claimed it was only fair that, as they no longer received pensions for those contests which had ceased to be "iselastic" since their victories, they should receive pensions for victory in games which had subsequently become "iselastic." Trajan makes the obvious ruling, but it is noteworthy that the claimants even thought it worth while to claim retroactive rewards.

An amusing and trivial incident in which the inefficiency touches both Pliny and the government occurs in his inquiry whether families may remove the ashes of their dead from a place which a flood had made unfit for burial.¹⁶ As now, such a procedure was subject to law, but one can hardly conceive that it was necessary to bother the Emperor with so trivial a problem. Perhaps there is more flattery here than inefficiency—though surely there must have been local regulations—for in Rome such matters were under the jurisdiction of the *pontifex maximus*, and at that time Trajan held that office. However, if it was flattery, it was lost on the Emperor, who curtly replied, "Follow proconsular precedent and

¹⁴ *Epp.* CX and CXI.

¹⁵ *Epp.* CXVIII and CXIX.

¹⁶ *Epp.* LXVIII and LXIX.

decide according to the merits of each case." An extreme example of ridiculous inefficiency is shown in the need of Trajan's consent for the covering of an odorous sewer in a busy city.¹⁷

Many of Pliny's problems which involved precedence or former laws show the difficulty of maintaining administrative continuity under the Roman system of edicts and rescripts. In one case¹⁸ Trajan replies that he will have to consult Servilius Calvus, an ex-procurator of Bithynia for the reasons for his action, before answering Pliny regarding the status of a man first exiled and then recalled by Calvus. In another,¹⁹ the question arises whether the flattering mention of a condemned man in a letter of Domitian was equivalent to a restoration of this man's rights. Domitian had said *summam expensam liberalitati meae feres*. This had been considered to be equivalent to a *beneficium*, and was confirmed by a general edict of Nerva in which he stated he did not think it necessary to confirm all of Domitian's edicts separately, but hereby confirmed them as a whole. What then should Pliny do? Trajan replied that Domitian may have been ignorant of the man's status when he wrote the original letter but grants him the benefit of the doubt and sets him free. Perhaps it would have been better had he not done so, for this questionable character reappears in Pliny's correspondence in a very ungentlemanly situation.²⁰

In the matter of cities having prior rights over other creditors,²¹ Pliny states that the procedure of proconsuls has come to be regarded as law but thinks that Trajan should settle it, since edicts of others are not valid unless confirmed by him. Trajan answers that he should decide according to local law with no explanation of, or answer to, the real question as Pliny saw it, viz., what general attitude he should take toward edicts of former proconsuls. This question, repeated in other letters, could only be flattery, for it was perfectly clear according to Roman law that a governor, in the same way as an emperor, might or might not re-enact the edicts of his predecessors.

Finally, under this heading we return to the one imperial reply which commends Pliny for his doubts.²² In a confusing question

¹⁷ *Epp.* xcviii and xcix.

¹⁸ *Epp.* lvi and lvii.

¹⁹ *Epp.* lviii-lx.

²⁰ *Ep.* lxxxI.

²¹ *Epp.* cviii and cix.

²² *Merito haesisti, Ep.* cxv.

concerning citizenship standing and expulsion of illegal members from the local senate Trajan freely admits that the law says one thing, precedent another, and strikes for Pliny a neat, though obvious, compromise. Inefficiency somewhere along the line, if not under Pliny, was responsible for the condition.

Perhaps the cases which will strike the modern reader as showing the greatest inefficiency, but for which he can also see some little excuse, are those reserved for last mention. They concern the keeping of official records both in Bithynia and at Rome. For the preservation of true copies the Romans were at no greater disadvantage than any peoples who do not have the printing press, and for transfer of official copies they had every facility known until the beginning of the last century; yet the letters will tell their own story. On a certain question, the nature of which is not pertinent to our observations, Pliny states²³ that he possesses an edict which was said (*quod dicebatur*) to be of Augustus, as well as three or four other documents, also of doubtful authenticity and *parum emendata*. We must understand, then, that Pliny could not always rely upon records of edicts and rescripts kept in some Bithynian archive. Again,²⁴ he sends Trajan a copy of a certain will, *exemplar testamenti, quamquam mendosum*. If it is true that these are the only documents which Pliny actually cites as questionable, still they form a conspicuous group of three important types in a relatively small collection of letters. It must have been difficult indeed to govern, not to mention reform, under such circumstances. But more surprising are some of Trajan's answers. Of the questionable edict of Augustus Pliny specifically states that he does not send the copy because he "believes" true copies are on file at Rome. This is what we should expect. But when in epistle LXXII Pliny writes that he hesitates to apply a certain rule because the senatorial decree pertinent to the question referred only to senatorial provinces, Trajan replies: "Send me a copy of the decree, and I'll see." Concerning this, Hardy writes:²⁵ "There would of course be the original decree in the tabularium at Rome, but on so small a point it was *simpler* for Pliny to send a copy than to have the

²³ *Ep.* LXV.

²⁴ *Ep.* LXX.

²⁵ Hardy, *op. cit.*, *Ep.* LXXIII, note *ad loc.*

archives *searched* for it." (Italics mine.) With this view one can hardly agree, when one considers the mail service between Rome and Bithynia. The italicized words betray a prejudice which to me is quite unexplainable. *Search* unjustifiably assumes that to find the decree would be difficult, while it is utterly inconceivable that it would be *simpler* to make the necessary exchange of three letters over the route between Rome and Bithynia than to have a capable secretary look up the decree in a file. In epistle LXXIX Pliny includes a copy of an edict of Augustus—no question of authenticity this time; but if there were copies at Rome, why this reversal of procedure? We cannot conceive that Pliny would think he was saving Trajan trouble; it would be utter conceit for him to suppose that Trajan would attend to his mail personally, and Pliny surely would not trouble himself to save labor for some freedman secretary, whose task would be to open the imperial mail, find the necessary references, and present the whole to Trajan for instruction as to the reply. Whether we thus project our system upon the Romans or not, the inefficiency remains patent in the irregularity of reference to laws even in official correspondence.

Yet it would be unfair to close without glancing at the other side of the ledger. Over against the will which was *mendosum* there is evidence that records of court sentences ten years back were promptly produced for Pliny's perusal. Several imperial and senatorial edicts are quoted without question. "Carbon copies" were not unknown, for on one occasion Pliny receives from Trajan a copy of a letter the Emperor had written to a certain Bassus, since both Pliny and Bassus had asked for advice on the same matter. These items and the general routine of administration so efficiently managed by the Romans should prevent any false impressions from this paper. My purpose has not been to exaggerate, but only to point out, a few examples of inefficiency so easily overlooked in a general estimate of Roman provincial administration.

ECONOMIC MAN IN ANCIENT ATHENS

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Nothing is more tempting to the student of ancient Greek and Roman culture than to draw analogies between it and the civilization of the present day.¹ Perhaps nowhere in the field of the classics has this tendency given rise to more striking parallels or more false comparisons than in the study of ancient economic life. It is clear, moreover, from the shifting theories and uncertain principles which govern research in this subject why much of what is written about ancient commerce and industry should be thoroughly polemical in nature. Without doubt most of the errors involved spring from the inclination to reason backward from modern economic conditions to a quite different set of conditions in classical antiquity.

One might present for what it is worth as an example of such obvious analogies the "New Deal program" of Solon, the Greek

¹ Bibliographical note: In writing this paper I have had recourse chiefly to the following works of a general nature: Johannes Hasebroek, *Trade and Politics in Ancient Greece*: London, G. Bell (1933); Alfred E. Zimmern, *The Greek Commonwealth*: New York, Oxford University Press (1924); Gustave Glotz, *Ancient Greece at Work*: New York, A. A. Knopf (1926); Eduard Meyer, "Die Wirtschaftliche Entwicklung des Altertums," in *Kleine Schriften*: Halle, Niemeyer (1910) 79-168; Jacob Burckhardt, *Griechische Kulturgeschichte*: Leipzig, Alfred Kröner (1929), 3 vols.; J. Toutain, *The Economic Life of the Ancient World*: New York, A. A. Knopf (1930); J. B. Bury, *A History of Greece*²: London, Macmillan (1913; reprinted 1929); T. R. Glover, *Greek Byways*: New York, Macmillan (1932)—this book contains two very interesting essays, "Diet in History" and "Metallurgy and Democracy." The bibliographies in Glotz and in the *Cambridge Ancient History* are full and useful.

The original sources are the Greek inscriptions, the lyric poets, Herodotus and Thucydides, Plato's *Republic* and *Laws*, the Attic orators, Aristophanes, the *Economica* of Xenophon, the *de Vectigalibus* and *Constitution of Athens* of Pseudo-Xenophon, Aristotle's *Politics*, *Nicomachean Ethics*, *Constitution of Athens*, Pseudo-Aristotle's *Economics*, coins, vases, and other archaeological material.

law giver of the sixth century B.C. On entering office as chief archon of Athens he was confronted with a desperate agrarian situation. Owners of large tracts were "freezing out" the small landholders; the increased use of currency with a correspondingly high rate of interest on loans had sharply curtailed the customary payment in kind. Debtors were being sold into slavery, and a revolutionary movement toward the redistribution of lands was imminent.

Solon, who besides having a head for business and politics was also a poet, attempted a reform of which we have a fragmentary account. In addition to placing an embargo upon the export of food-stuffs, passing sumptuary laws, and forbidding the enslavement of debtors, he cancelled the debts of the small farmers, and by changing from the Aeginetan to the Euboean standard of currency he brought about an inflation of 30 per cent. With the establishment of popular courts and a system of government which was based upon a committee-system somewhat similar to our own Senate committees, he laid the foundations for Athenian democracy and postponed Fascism in the form of the tyranny of Pisistratus by at least a generation.

The analogy between Solon's program and that of the Roosevelt administration appeared particularly vivid to me in February, 1934, while I was teaching a course in Greek history. At that time, our chief executive had won seventy-seven new powers not originally granted him under the American constitution. Solon, too, had extraordinary and absolute powers voted him for carrying out his reforms; and, like the Roosevelt administration, he steered a middle course. His cancellation of debts and prevention of foreclosure on farm mortgages are somewhat similar to methods of farm relief used by the New Deal in America, while the fear that a dictatorship would inevitably replace a decadent capitalism was probably quite as strong an impelling force in Athens at that time as it is in some quarters in our country today. If, like wild-eyed soothsayers, we seek to prophesy from the success or failure of his program, we cannot expect that "New Deal" measures will completely succeed; for Athens, only thirty years after Solon's reforms were put into effect, fell into the hands of one of the earliest European Fascists—the benevolent tyrant, Pisistratus.

Modern students of ancient Greek economics have long since discarded the nineteenth-century theories of Rodbertus and Bücher, who held that Greece did not proceed beyond what is called "house-economy." Economics itself, as the word signifies, is, of course, like almost all important social principles, a peculiarly Greek conception; it means simply "house-keeping." But even such leading students of Greek history as Eduard Meyer, Robert von Pöhlmann, and Wilamowitz-Moellendorff have gone to the other extreme in applying indiscriminately the terminology of modern capitalism to the economic system (or rather lack of system) of ancient Greece. In fact, the very title as well as many of the arguments of von Pöhlmann's great book on the *History of the Social Question and of Socialism in the Ancient World* shows a certain tendency to interpret ancient conditions in terms of the complex and highly integrated system of modern capitalism.² The truth, as usual, lies somewhere between these extreme views, as Johannes Hasebroek has shown in his acute and rigorously skeptical analysis of *Trade and Politics in Ancient Greece*.

Indeed, the very foundations of ancient Greek life made anything approaching modern capitalism an impossibility. The question can be immediately clarified by listing the numerous reasons why Greece, at least until the second century B.C., could never have achieved a capitalistic system in the modern sense of the term. Greek life centered about the small city-state and was dominantly agricultural in nature, whereas the imperialistic expansion we find in connection with capitalism elsewhere in history has been chiefly political in its motives. There was no huge urbanization such as grew up in Hellenistic and Roman imperial times; the Greek state did not officially encourage trade and industry, and interfered with such activities only to maintain its grain-supply from abroad. The jealous separatism of the Greek city-states tended to concentrate industry within individual cities; the widespread commerce which has been postulated on the basis of archaeological finds of vases can be partially explained away on various grounds; for instance,³ many of these vases must have been

² Zimmern, *op. cit.*, 352, note 1.

³ Hasebroek, *op. cit.*, 50, 79.

made in the localities where they were found, but on a pattern borrowed from cities such as Athens or Corinth, to which they have usually been assigned. There was no state merchant marine. Furthermore, the lack of a reliable currency, the difficulty of forming business contracts between groups and individuals, the very scanty legal control of business life, the almost total absence of a dependable banking and credit system as well as a legal rate of interest put bond-issuing enterprises such as we are familiar with in modern times out of the question. Moreover, industry could never have become very extensive in ancient Greece, for the Greeks were not interested in machinery and never proceeded beyond a few simple contrivances in the practical application of those physical principles which they discovered and bequeathed to us. Lastly, everything we know of negro slavery in the United States before the Civil War should convince us that any social organization built, like that of Greece, upon the institution of slavery could not have risen to the level reached by capitalism in the modern sense.

I have delayed mention of what I consider the most important reason why capitalism could not come to full blossom in ancient Greece in order that it may serve as a transition to a discussion of the central features of ancient Greek economics—the social and aesthetic attitude toward trade and industry. It will surprise the modern uninformed inquirer; it will shock that vast bourgeoisie who have been accustomed by more than a century of “big business” to look up with worshipful awe to the captain of industry, to learn that the Greeks despised business men. They were interested in humanity, art, letters, and the full expression of the personality; not in money and machines.

Plato, as well as other Greek social theorists, understood, of course, the essential need for those who served as middlemen and retailers; but notice how he puts them in their place according to the traditional Greek view when he discusses the subject of trade in the ideal *Republic* (371):

... in well-ordered states they are commonly those who are the weakest in bodily strength and therefore of little use for any other purpose. Their duty

is to be in the market place and to give money in exchange for goods to those who desire to sell, and to take money from those who desire to buy.

Aristotle, likewise, in the first book of the *Politics*, where he gives a brief list of the various branches of economic life (I, 11, 5), dismisses the subject after a few remarks as too commonplace to dwell upon. It is this attitude which accounts for the lack in Greek literature of any thorough treatise on economics.

Among the Greeks all wholesale and retail trade as well as the greater share of industry were left in the hands of slaves and foreigners. A class of society important from an economic point of view but socially at the bottom of the scale were the resident-foreigners or metics. No Greek city-state ever attained that economic self-sufficiency (*αὐτάρκεια*) which, perhaps because of its very unattainability, is emphasized so much in the ideal state as Plato imagined it. Therefore, since grain was a necessary import, foreigners engaged in the grain trade and were encouraged, especially during the régime of Pericles, to settle at Athens, where they were not permitted to vote or own land but sometimes received exemption from military service, just as the Roman traders Livy speaks of were likewise exempted in Rome.⁴

The state maintained a moderate control over economic activity for two purposes only, neither of them calculated to develop the widespread national economy assumed by some historians: first, the exploitation of trade for revenue purposes by means of duties, taxes, monopolies; and second, the utilisation of trade and traders to secure the provision of food from the granaries of the ancient world⁵—the Crimea, Cyprus, Egypt, and Sicily.

If any free-born Athenian engaged in trade, it was only as a "silent partner" in some occasional shipping venture, such as a cargo of pots to the West or a few barrels of wine to Egypt. The risk was great, and the interest he received on his loans to shippers (*ἐμπόροι*) was high. He usually made such ventures only through necessity, and retired from the business as soon as he could to

⁴ Livy XXIII, 48, 9-49. This passage concerns the bidding for the contract to furnish the army in Spain (215 B.C.) with provisions. Cf. Tenney Frank, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, Vol. I, "Rome and Italy of the Republic": Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press (1933), 85.

⁵ Hasebroek, *op. cit.*, 103.

invest what profits he had made in the only respectable form of property countenanced by the Greeks—and that was land. If his partner, the ship-captain, chose to cheat him, it was difficult to obtain redress by law; it is interesting to refer here to the evidence given by the Greek orators, who wrote law-court speeches for many such defrauded clients. Contracts had to be made in the presence of witnesses; there was no insurance company such as Lloyds to underwrite shipping ventures. Shipwreck, piracy, war, fire, and earthquakes were constant dangers to any sort of trading; the declaration of war (and the Greeks were almost continually at war) could instantly wipe out not only profits but working capital, ships, cargo, and crew. Bottomry loans, it is significant to observe, were the chief form of investment in overseas trade.⁶

The Greek citizen, if he served regularly as a jurymen or performed other services for the state, was, to a considerable degree, relieved of the necessity of spending his life in merely earning a living, even though his fees for services were usually small. This partial freedom from economic anxiety left him plenty of time for following his two chief duties—war and politics. He was not forced, as politicians are among us, to make his fortune before he could assume the jovial, opulent dignity of the average United States congressman; he was engaged in public life and public service from the moment he became of age. It is no wonder, therefore, that we hear of no serious unemployment problem in antiquity, no suicides because of business reverses, no economic insecurity except through war.

Industry never grew to any size in Greece; the largest workshop we hear of was the shield and spear factory operated by Lysias, the orator, and his brother Polemarchus, which had 120 workers, though we are nowhere specifically told that all of this number were employed in the shop itself. The father of Demosthenes made knives and bedsteads; his force of workers numbered fifty-two or fifty-three.⁷ In the case of the contractor for public works the

⁶ Cf. Hasebroek, *op. cit.*, 10, on the speech against Apaturius, where the merchant says: "For long I was a merchant and risked my own life at sea; but some seven years ago I left the sea to use my modest earnings in the bottomry business."

⁷ Zimmern, *op. cit.*, 265, n.1; Hasebroek, *op. cit.*, 72 ff.

practice of giving small-lot orders and paying in advance by installments made the possession of capital a negligible factor.⁸ In small shops the slave, foreigner, and freeman worked side by side at making garments, vases, leather goods, bronze ware, sail cloth, and other products. Competition was not a source of danger, dissension, and over-production; there were markets and work enough for all. Much home industry went on as always; products like wreaths, ribbons, and yarn were sold; trades were handed down from father to son, although the son frequently turned to other pursuits, and workers' guilds came into existence.

The scene presented by the small Athenian shop is one of steady but rather pleasant labor, enlivened by the presence of those curious bystanders who appear, leaning upon their staffs, in the representations on so many Greek vases. Cobblers' shops, potters' rooms, perfumers' establishments were favorite loafing-places and rendezvous; the bronze foundry and the armor-maker's drew their full share of hangers-on. The state made no regulations on labor conditions, hours, or wages beyond the prohibition of free child labor. The worker treated his craft as an art; the Greek word *τέχνη* implies both craft and art. Slow, careful workmanship, something which has almost disappeared from the modern world, produced the lovely and enduring things we see today in museums of Greek antiquities.

Wages were low; ordinary labor by the day at Athens in the last third of the fifth century was paid at the rate of a drachma, or eighteen cents.⁹ At least sixty holidays must be reckoned in the Athenian calendar beside the days when, for other reasons, no work was done. Building operations especially, such as those on the Acropolis, were very intermittent. Other skilled trades were paid at higher rates in proportion to talent and skill, but since a man could live with ease on two or three obols (six or nine cents) a day and could support a family on eighteen cents, and since the food and household furnishings¹⁰ of the average Athenian family

⁸ Glotz, *op. cit.*, 263, 268. His chapter on "Industry" is good in the main; but he is misleading when he speaks, elsewhere, of "colossal trade" (p. 146) and a "budget" (p. 151). No Greek state had a national budget. ⁹ Cf. Glotz, *op. cit.*, 282.

¹⁰ Cf. M. N. Tod, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*: New York, Oxford

made no excessive demands upon his labor, a man did not usually work hard enough to lay up much of a surplus. Although the value of the drachma fell steadily during the fourth century, its buying power was probably at least four times that of eighteen cents today. Of course there were a few large fortunes, which, however, modern plutocrats would consider small change. Rich men were the constant prey of public informers as well as subject to the regular free-will offerings expected of them by the state in the form of "liturgies." These were the outfitting and payment of expenses for an embassy to foreign parts, the equipping and maintenance of a warship complete with oarsmen, or the training and presentation of a chorus at the dramatic festivals.

The coinage system of ancient Greece presented exceptional difficulties for the business man. Each city or principality coined its own currency and often passed laws to forbid the circulation of any other coins within its borders. Few cities were as fortunate as Athens, whose silver drachmas of high precious-metal content were welcome everywhere. As objects of art, ancient coins, such as those of Syracuse, the most beautiful of all, are still the wonder of the metallurgical craftsman; but art had little to do with their value as a medium of exchange. Revisions of currency regulations were frequent, drastic, and disastrous to traders; the necessity of accepting payment for his goods in coin which was worthless in his home town left many a merchant at the mercy of local authorities as he traveled among Aegean and Mediterranean ports.

If there had been an adequate system of credit and exchange, this hindrance to business might have been mitigated. Even admitting the facts that war, not peace, was the normal state of affairs between cities, that no league of nations could ever have arisen, that such forces of intellectual confraternization as international groups of scholars and humanitarians were rare in Greek antiquity, one might wonder why banks, at least, were not more efficient. Yet the traditional policy of isolation extended even to

University press (1933), 199 f., for the sale-list of Alcibiades' furniture, 414-413 B.C. He was a brilliant and wealthy young man about town who could be expected to have a luxurious establishment; but the meager list of beds, blankets, bed-straps, pots, and night-shirts given in this inscription makes us smile today.

such means of business exchange. The great bankers, like Pasion of Athens, were essentially manufacturers who maintained an exchange service as a side line.¹¹ Banks accepted deposits but required verbal instructions from depositors before making payments to others; no check-service can be spoken of, as Hasebroek admits.¹² It was not until quite late in the history of Greece that banks rose above their original function as money-changers, to embrace larger and more complex financial services. In brief, the Greeks had little taste or ability for finance; even Pericles, who, with Themistocles, may be called one of the wisest business men ever to hold high office at Athens, merely asked the assembly for money "for necessary purposes" (*εἰς τὸ δέον*)¹³ when he wished to continue building operations on the Acropolis or to strengthen fortifications. The helter-skelter finance of an ancient Greek city would make the modern efficient business-man think of his childhood days, when he anxiously waited for an indulgent relative to give him the nickels and dimes he was saving to buy a baseball-glove or an air rifle, and when he levied tribute on all his family for the satisfaction of sudden enthusiasms.

This brief sketch of Greek economic life has been based on the varying situation at Athens in the sixth, fifth, and fourth centuries B.C. and upon an adult free male population which had grown to approximately 119,000 by 431 B.C.¹⁴ In the concluding portion of this paper I hope to draw a few general conclusions, to point out certain differences between ancient and modern economic life, and to discover what validity the experience of the Greeks in this phase of their existence may have for us today.

It is at once apparent that the Greeks regarded the necessity for paying attention to economics as an inescapable but relatively minor consideration. Their refusal to idolize the business-man had, as its natural result, freedom from being ruled by him. Their disinclination toward sentimentalism, their clear-eyed realistic point of view in general, kept them from acquiescing in the control of national affairs by bankers or profiteers. That intense patriotism

¹¹ Hasebroek, *op. cit.*, 12.

¹² *Ibid.*, 85, n. 4.

¹³ Plutarch, *Pericles* XXIII.

¹⁴ Zimmern, *op. cit.*, 415.

which elevated the state above the individual and yet maintained a miraculous balance between the demands of both individual and state preserved them against exploitation. There were few political grafters, and they were speedily punished by the most dreaded of penalties, worse to the Greek than imprisonment, fines, or death—exile from his native state. We hear of no such gigantic frauds among them as the "Whiskey Ring" and others which a writer¹⁵ in the *American Mercury* has, in a series of articles, called the "Thieveries of the Republic." It has been well said that

The Greeks were as deeply imbued as other nations with the acquisitive instinct, with the desire for limitless gains beyond the immediate needs of life, but in them it was primarily developed and found its fullest expression along non-economic lines. It could not be properly satisfied by the labours of industry and commerce, for these labours were degrading and fit only for the lowest classes. That being so, we need not be surprised that the Greek world never saw the development of a commercial aristocracy.¹⁶

The Greek sense of form and beauty would never have tolerated the sprawling ugliness of an industrial civilization; it is even more significant that their frugal life, their limited physical demands, their extraordinary ability to put up with few comforts and many hardships would not have required the growth of such a civilization. The Greek ate simple foods; the staples in his diet were olive oil, grain, wine, vegetables, a few fruits, and a fish or two. Potatoes, rice, corn, tobacco, hard liquors, expensive meats, and delicacies were unknown to him. His luxuries were a few spices, garments, and perfumes used sparingly, and even then only by the quite well-to-do. An economy of few wants and necessities is the surest guarantee against a highly developed industrialism—witness the American pioneer.

Thorstein Veblen's was perhaps the keenest mind yet arisen among American economists; his *Theory of the Leisure Class* still remains, in my opinion, the most searching analysis of the American capitalistic system from the sociological and psychological point of view. He used to present, in his course on the history of political economy, the obvious position of ancient Greek economics:

¹⁵ Grayson L. Kirk, "The Whiskey Ring Fraud," *American Mercury*, April, 1935.

¹⁶ Hasebroek, *op. cit.*, 41 f.

The classical state was an aristocratic republic, and the Greeks were interested primarily in the proper comportment for a cultured man of leisure, but that was their ideal and it conditioned all their thinking. They did not develop a scientific economics because, living as masters and slaves, they did not develop habits conducive to the impersonal point of view.¹⁷

This economically unproductive ideal made possible the characteristic Greek disregard for careful finance. It also made possible in fifth-century Athens the expenditures upon the most beautiful buildings the ancient world has left us. During a time of fitful warfare with Persia and while the Peloponnesian war was ominously gathering, Pericles, whom it would be absurd to accuse of not foreseeing the coming calamity, blithely continued to spend over a period of sixteen years (447-431 B.C.)¹⁸ some eight thousand talents (\$48,000,000) on public buildings, only part of which could serve any economically useful purpose. The Parthenon, completed in 438 B.C., cost \$4,200,000; the gold and ivory statue of Athena within it cost \$6,000,000; and it must be remembered that these sums today would be much greater in buying power. This money was drawn from the revenues of an empire which contained about one and one-half million people.

Indianapolis, Indiana, has spent about \$10,000,000 upon a somewhat undistinguished public memorial; her statehouse and courthouse cost together some \$3,600,000. In relation to its wealth and population it could afford to spend far more than Athens in the latter third of the fifth century. Without straining for exact mathematical proportions, we are led to the inescapable conclusion that our love of beauty, measured in terms of actual expenditure in normal times for beautiful buildings which might also be useful, is at present only an infinitesimal part as great as that of an ancient Greek city whose income and population at its period of greatest prosperity would not equal those of any one of a

¹⁷ Cf. Joseph Dorfman, *Thorstein Veblen and His America*: New York, Viking Press (1934), 245. Veblen's devastating criticism of the place of the humanities in American education in the last chapter of *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (xiv. "The Higher Learning as an Expression of the Pecuniary Culture") was thoroughly justified thirty-eight years ago as an important part of his general criticism, although his own ability to quote the classics with felicity shows a certain appreciation for them out of keeping with his harsh indictment.

¹⁸ Zimmern, *op. cit.*, 411 f.

dozen American cities. On a national scale this comparison would produce even more disheartening results.

We cannot achieve the measure of cultural brilliance of ancient Athens, although our material resources, at least, are far superior. But we can still admire the courage, the will to make life a beautiful and fruitful experience, the determination not to be swayed by economic considerations alone, that actuated the life of this little Greek state. If we are to draw any moral from this brief excursus into ancient economics, it is the eternal truth that there are values in life which stand clear only against the background of historical perspective. We may moan about the evils of modern industrialism, or we may, as Carlyle did, and as many do today, lapse into a dreamy reverence for the captains of industry who sway our destinies. We may put our trust in the New Deal or in a dictatorship, or we may turn to a completely cynical state of mind which finds its chief pleasure in mere unconstructive complaint; but to that serene wisdom of the Greeks we cannot attain. It was not for nothing that the Athenians chose as the symbol of their commonwealth, and stamped upon their coins, the bird of wisdom, the owl of Athena.

Book Reviews

[Review copies of classical books should be sent to the Editorial Office of the JOURNAL at Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. Such works will always be listed in the department of Recent Books, and those which seem most important to the readers of the JOURNAL will also be reviewed in this department. The editor-in-chief reserves the right of appointing reviewers.]

HURLBUT, STEPHEN A., *Words In Cicero's Orations*, A Check List of the C.E.E.B. Third-Year Vocabulary Arranged for Teaching and Review: Washington, D. C., The St. Albans Press (1937). \$.25.

HURLBUT, STEPHEN A., and DEAN, MILDRED, Editors, *The Conspiracy of Catiline from Plutarch's Vita Ciceronis*, In the Latin Translation of Guilhelmus Xylander: Washington, D. C., The St. Albans Press (1937). \$.35.

HURLBUT, STEPHEN A., *Caesar and Vercingetorix*, Book Seven of the *Gallic War*: Washington, D. C., The St. Albans Press (1937). Pp. 41. \$.75.

In *Words in Cicero's Orations* Mr. Hurlbut has again (as in a *Work-Book for Latin Vocabulary, First and Second Year Words*) made a valuable contribution to the *Vocabulary Volumen* in the *scrinium* of the high-school Latin teacher.

The subtitle of this pamphlet describes its content and purpose: it is "a check list of the C. E. E. B. Third-Year Vocabulary, arranged for teaching and review." The author suggests a good plan for the pupils to follow in order to gain the greatest advantage from the use of the list. The pupils are instructed "to underline in their textbooks the words as given here, notice and learn the meanings as they develop from the reading, and at suitable intervals, as suggested by the review lists, make a complete review of the material so far covered."

The four pages of "Sight Reading Reviews," in which Mr. Hurlbut has skilfully rearranged Cicero's words in his own "made-to-

order" version, provide an excellent opportunity for both teacher and pupil to check the actual vocabulary acquisition; these should also prove a welcome variation from the monotony of the spelling lesson type of vocabulary test.

The Conspiracy of Catiline includes chapters fourteen through twenty-two of Plutarch's *Vita Ciceronis*, which give the story of the events from the consular elections of 63 B.C. through the execution of the conspirators and the death of Catiline. In the *Praefatio ad Lectorem* we learn the salient facts about the career of the Renaissance scholar, Guilhelmus Xylander, whose Latin translation of the chapters from Plutarch is used as the text for Mr. Hurlbut's edition. Any unusual words are clearly explained in marginal vocabularies, and the footnotes call attention to the places where Plutarch's account differs from that of Cicero or Sallust. At the close of each chapter there are two sets of questions—thought-provoking and perfectly phrased for testing the reader's powers of comprehension—as, for example, this one in Latin, to be answered in Latin: "Quomodo Cicero in Campo spectantibus periculum suum significavit?"; or this one in English, to be answered in English: "Why did Cicero say 'Vixerunt' instead of 'mortui sunt'?" (Mildred Dean composed the Latin questions, Mr. Hurlbut the English.)

In *Caesar and Vercingetorix* Mr. Hurlbut presents an unusually attractive edition of *Caesar's Commentaries, Book Seven*, aptly described in his own words as the book containing "the most dramatic campaign of the Gallic War." In addition to a carefully arranged text of the Latin version of Book Seven, with a marginal vocabulary to supply all unusual words and footnotes which depart from the traditional pattern of grammatical references and serve to enhance the rapid and enjoyable reading of the Latin narrative, other interesting features are a glimpse into paleography (in the scholarly little essay on the manuscripts of *Caesar's Commentaries*, and the facsimile of a Carolingian manuscript showing the beginning of Book Seven), excellent maps and plans, and numerous well-chosen and artistic illustrations. Especially commendable, in the reviewer's judgment, is the author's success in achieving his purpose of "bringing the scenes and events of this campaign into close connection with the topography of modern France." *With Caesar in*

France, the English narrative of a tour "personally conducted" by Caesar himself to the sites and scenes of The Seventh Book (also written by Mr. Hurlbut), will make a perfect introduction for this Latin text.

For the Caesar and Cicero class these *lepidi novi libelli* contain a wealth of material which the individual teacher could compile only after much lucubration and research. Even the most ardent *laudatores temporis acti* among us need not hesitate to subscribe heartily to the modern doctrine of curriculum enrichment by supplementing the regular textbook work with these carefully edited selections for sight reading, as we cling steadfastly to the belief that the voice of classical literature *φωνήσῃ συνετοῖσιν*.

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HARVEY, SIR PAUL, *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature*: New York, Oxford University Press (1937). Pp. 480, with 6 plates and 8 maps. \$3.00.

Upon first sight this volume appears to be but another classical dictionary, but the reader soon discovers that in addition to items on antiquities, biography, mythology, and geography it contains articles summarizing the contents of practically all the works of classical literature. For example, the contents of the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and the *Aeneid* are sketched under their respective headings. And here is the place to go for information in short order if one's memory fails him as to what the *Pro Sulla* of Cicero, for example, is about; he will find it under *Pro*. The article *Mercator* gives him an inkling of Plautus' plot (though *Menaechmi* is fuller). The information is concise and substantially correct. A full outline of larger works is generally given, though I note that concerning Ovid's *Metamorphoses* only the more interesting stories are indicated rather than a full summary given.

The work is frankly intended as a companion to classical literature, and the copious information on antiquities is subordinated to this purpose. "This work does not list antiquities as such, but only those antiquities which concern the study of classical litera-

ture," states the Preface. But this does not do justice to the range of the many general articles, of which a list is given on page ix. Interesting additions are a date chart of classical literature, a table of weights and measures, six plates and eight maps, all at the back.

I have not read all the volume—like any dictionary it changes its subject too often. But from extensive sampling I recommend it strongly to readers of the JOURNAL. The price is very reasonable; in fact it is a bargain. The high-school teacher with a limited library will find it valuable for reference, or for an occasional five- or ten-minute perusal of some article such as *Alphabet, Books, Epigraphy, Law, Metre, Novel, Papyri, or Vase Painting*. Undergraduates and beginning graduate students will find it helpful, and high-school students will not find it forbidding. All of us will bless it upon those occasions when we need a little information upon a subject, but need it very badly and at once.

The compiler and editor has mentioned his sources in the Preface, and it will be seen that he has consulted the good authorities whose names spring to mind in connection with the various topics. Upon occasion it may be that scholarship is slightly in advance of positions taken by these authorities; at a few points I have wished I could ask certain specialists if they would agree. But these points were few, and I feel that the volume is on the whole up-to-date.

W. E. GWATKIN, JR.

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

ROBINSON, DAVID M., and GRAHAM, J. WALTER, *Excavations at Olynthus, Part VIII, The Hellenic House*, A Study of the Houses found at Olynthus with a detailed Account of those Excavated in 1931 and 1934: Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press (1938). Pp. xxi+370. Figures in text 36 and plates 110. \$15.

The importance of the excavations at Olynthus is now universally recognized. In a series of four campaigns, in 1928, 1931, 1934, and 1938, a considerable portion of the ancient city has been uncovered and adequately studied. The excavators have evinced a laudable degree of promptitude in making known the results.

The Hellenic House opens with the *apologia* that we have come to expect in the successive volumes of this series—a defense of the

assumption that the excavated site is actually that of Olynthus and that it was not resettled after its destruction by Philip of Macedon in 348 B.C. On the first point it may be observed that it is doubtful if anyone can be found today who will seriously contest the identification. That a certain amount of hesitation and uncertainty was to be found amid the reviewers of the earlier volumes is but natural; the case was hardly proved by the results of the first two campaigns of investigation. With regard to the date at which the city ceased to be, the authors here admit that there was apparently a continuation of settlement—or perhaps a reoccupation—on the North Hill subsequent to 348 B.C. What the campaign of the present year has revealed has not yet (November) been officially announced.

Some sixty-five houses were completely cleared in the first three explorations, and as these belong in all probability to the period of great Olynthian prosperity, 432 to 348 B.C., they furnish the finest group by far of Classical Greek houses anywhere discovered. Indeed, the student of domestic architecture, of Greek private life, and of interior decoration and appliances will find in this volume a remarkable storehouse of information for his wants. It is not so much that we experience a revision of the mental picture of the Greek house which we have derived from literature, coupled with the fruits of the excavations at Delos, Priene, and the closely related structures of Pompeii and Herculaneum, as it is the addition thereto of a multitude of details, many of which were hitherto unknown or merely guessed at. A most far-reaching and patient piece of research has been accomplished by the authors, which is found to descend to such minutiae as the form of the keyholes of the doors!

Through no fault on the part of Graham or Robinson, two or three features of the book will disappoint the reader. (1) The discussion of the second stories of the houses occupies but five pages; so little of them has survived. (2) The city walls, which measure at some points 3.25 m. in thickness, appear to dwindle at others to a mere 0.80 m. The first measurement is about a meter less than the standard scale of the fourth-century crude-brick wall; the latter seems incredible. How is the phenomenon to be explained? (3)

How was the destruction of the city accomplished by Philip's soldiery? Present indications are opposed to a theory of burning. On the other hand, the authors' suggestion of the dragging away of the pillars supporting the second-story balconies of the houses is hardly convincing. After all, is it not probable that Demosthenes' assertion (IX,26)—seven years after the event—that Philip had utterly blotted out Olynthus and three dozen more "Thraceward" cities far oversteps the truth?

There will be readers of this book who will protest that the detailed publication of the houses found in the second and third campaigns should have been published apart from the authors' monograph on the Hellenic house which occupies perhaps two-thirds of the book. But, as they have chosen to pursue the course that they have, I for one shall not quarrel with it, but shall unhesitatingly praise the work as a highly useful contribution to classical scholarship.

The plans are numerous and lucid. The photography is excellent, though the reproduction of the half-tones might have profited by the use of a somewhat finer screen.

A. D. FRASER

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

CASSON, STANLEY, *Ancient Cyprus, Its Art and Archaeology*: London, Methuen & Company (1937). Pp. xii+214.

This book deals with Cypriot history from the earliest times down to the Hellenistic Age. There are seven chapters, sixteen half-tone plates, an end-paper map, and an Index.

Anyone with the slightest interest in such subjects would thoroughly enjoy this book. It is written clearly and simply, the illustrations are good, and the whole material of the subject is completely exploited.

The book is not without considerable historical importance. Those who welcomed Burn's book, *Minoans, Philistines, and Greeks*, will welcome no less this guide which leads one through the dark mazes of the Late Bronze and Early Iron ages in the Aegean area. After all, some of us must teach this period and such a book as this

is a most valuable assistance in finding a way through the troubled period.

As the author points out, Cyprus holds a key position in the search for a clue which will solve the many mysteries of Mycenaean-Achaean history. He discusses the Cypriot writing and the Cypriot kingship at some length, holding (rightly, I think) that these indicate a strong Achaean occupation of Cyprus. Throughout the book the author traces the Cypriot relations with Minoans and Achaeans, with Egyptians, Assyrians, Hittites, and Phoenicians. He weaves together the broken threads of these international contacts in a most felicitous manner.

This book will be of great assistance to teachers and to advanced students who desire to bring some order into the scattered materials of early Greek history as well as to those who are interested in Prehistory and the history of Cyprus itself.

THOS. A. BRADY

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

CALDWELL, WALLACE E., *The Ancient World*: New York, Farrar and Rinehart (1937). Pp. xvii+590. \$3.75.

Professor Caldwell's textbook constitutes a rapid survey of the field of Ancient History from the beginnings of man's existence down to the abdication of the Roman Emperor Diocletian in 305 A.D. About one-fifth of the book deals with Prehistory and the Ancient Orient; the remainder is divided equally between Greek and Roman History. There are eighteen useful maps and a fair number of illustrations; fifteen pages are devoted to chronological tables. The extensive bibliographies are especially valuable because they include the very latest publications dealing with special phases of Ancient History. The book is attractive in appearance; it is well bound, and the type is large and easy to read.

Professor Caldwell has aimed to produce a well-balanced text which includes a survey of political, economic, and social institutions, religious life and cultural achievements, as well as political history. The book is sound and up-to-date; it gives evidence of careful workmanship. The author is obviously most at home in the field of Greek history; the weakest portions of the book are

at the beginning and the end: the sections on Prehistory and the Roman Empire.

In the opinion of the reviewer this book demonstrates very clearly that it is impossible to write a successful survey of the whole field of Ancient History in a mere five or six hundred pages. Although Professor Caldwell has included a wealth of material, he has been forced to condense his work to a point where it becomes little more than a brief outline. Very often so many facts are crowded into a paragraph that it becomes difficult for the reader to grasp their meaning until he has reread the paragraph several times. Nevertheless, Professor Caldwell has given us one of the better one-volume textbooks on Ancient History written in recent years.

TOM B. JONES

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

CHIERA, EDWARD, and CAMERON, GEORGE C., *They wrote on Clay: the Babylonian Tablets Speak Today*: Chicago, University of Chicago Press (1938). Pp. xv+235. \$3.00.

Professor Chiera left this little book unfinished at the time of his death, and it has been seen through the press by Dr. Cameron. It is an attractively written, and of course authoritative, description for the general reader of the manner in which the cuneiform tablets were prepared and inscribed, and of the nature of the cuneiform script—the clearest and fullest account in English of these matters known to the reviewer—together with brief accounts of the more famous and important “finds” of tablets and the contribution of each to our historical knowledge. The illustrations are abundant and excellent; most of them new, being taken from the photographs in the files of the Oriental Institute in Chicago. The book can be recommended heartily to secondary and college teachers of Ancient History for use by their classes as supplementary reading.

DONALD MCFAYDEN

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

Hints for Teachers

[Edited by Dorothy M. Bell, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio. The aims of this department are threefold: to assist the inexperienced teacher of Latin, to help the experienced teacher keep in touch with matters of interest to the professional world, and to serve as a receiving center and distributing point for questions and contributions on teaching problems. Questions will be answered by mail or in the pages of this department. Contributions in the form of short paragraphs dealing with projects, tests, interest devices, methods, and material are requested. Anything intended for publication should be typed on stationery of regular size. All correspondence should be addressed to the editor of this department.]

One Year of Latin for the Low-Average Student.¹

It would seem appropriate first of all to offer a vote of thanks to the "powers that be" for making it permissible to give credit for one year of Latin when the ninth-grade pupil has profited by one year and is not capable of taking two.

Next, I should like to explain some of the situations that exist in the Ionia system. We do not advocate giving Latin to the very weak student. We do not test the candidates for Latin classes. We hope next fall to have the eighth-grade teachers assist the ninth-grade advisers in eliminating most of those not qualified to take Latin, as the ninth-grade advisers have almost no previous acquaintance with the students whom they counsel. Girls who insist that they want to be nurses and have not the capacity to take the academic work involved provide a considerable number of the failures. It is the philosophy of our Junior High School to allow exploratory work in various departments before majors are chosen, and the administration is willing to grant the one year of credit. This year we have fifty-seven beginners in our department as compared with twenty-six a year ago. Our text is *The Road to Latin*, by Chestnutt, Olivenbaum, and Rosebaugh.

¹ Read before the Classical Conference at the Schoolmasters' Club in Ann Arbor, Michigan, April 28, 1939.

We try to build background in Roman and Pompeian customs, and to find our way around Rome before the pupils read Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* in their English class, and to correlate also with the history department. This has frequently given an intellectual thrill to some students who have not had that experience very often. We also stress the simplest grammatical constructions, using the English terms of "past tense" and "objective case" for a time.

The following are some of the methods of presentation used to assist the students. During the first class we have a little penmanship lesson on *a*, *o*, *i*, and *e*. I explain that one cannot tell a man from a woman in Latin without the first two, and that one cannot tell "he sends" from "he will send" without the second two. When the time comes for the troublesome future tense in the third conjugation, it is easy to fall back on this first impression.

Next I list on the board "is," "am," "are," "was," "were," "will be," "shall be," "may be," "might be," "would be," "could be," "should be," "have been," "has been," "had been," "will have been," "shall have been," "may have been," "might have been," "would have been," "could have been," "should have been." In very large letters at the left and right I print NOMINATIVE. The students learn to say the forms of the verb "to be" rapidly. Then they learn the rule, "On the left hand side and on the right hand side of all the forms of the verb 'to be,' except 'to be' and 'to have been,' use the nominative case. The first nominative is the subject; the second nominative is the predicate." This presentation is different from the work done in the eighth grade on constructions, and the average ninth-grade pupil decides after some drill in this that there is not much excuse for graduating from high school without knowing what a predicate noun is.

In a day or two we write fifty very simple sentences with direct objects, beginning with "I open the door," "I close the window," and "I sweep the floor" as the first three. Then we decide that after "is," "am," "are," "was," "were," the "be's", and the "been's," we have a predicate noun—and after the average verb we have a direct object. In periods of supervised study for some time I say, "Is, am, are, was, were—is 'praise' one of those?" This helps to

remove some of the mystery surrounding the mere mention of anything grammatical.

Because the passive voice so frequently brings confusion to the ninth-grade pupil, we approach it cautiously. First we decide what a passive person is, and how such a person would act at a basketball game. This year it happened that a picture of Robert Ripley inspecting a Greek statue lay on my desk. I took a box of chalk, carefully and ceremoniously laid a piece of kleenex on it, and put Mr. Ripley under an anaesthetic, believe it or not. The class agreed that he lay there very passively. With a compass Mr. Ripley was operated upon. The class decided that he was acted upon, and that he was not up operating on the doctor. The members of the class then dramatized the whipping of slaves and the building of walls. I then wrote *voco* on the board, and said that at seven in the morning I was up rushing around the house "calling" people. But an *r* added to the word suddenly put me back in bed again, sound asleep, lying very passively—and "I am called" at seven o'clock. We contrast "caring for" a patient and "being cared for." We also note that in writing the English passive we gradually use up the forms of "to be"—"is," "am," "are," "was," "were," "will be," "shall be," and so on.

We learn to count by singing the song written by Miss Mather, of Sault Ste Marie, and sung to the tune of "One Little, Two Little, Three Little Indians":

Caesar habet unam legionem
Caesar habet unam legionem
Caesar habet unam legionem
Unam bonam legionem.

Unam, duas, tres legiones,
Quattuor, quinque, sex legiones,
Septem, octo, novem legiones,
Decem bonas legiones.

Decem, novem, octo legiones, etc.

This is done before we take up the third declension, because the *unam bonam legionem* and the *duas, tres legiones* help with the declension and gender of adjectives in the third declension.

When the time comes for the third declension, we approach it with such common Latin forms as *rigor mortis*, Poe's *Scarabaeus Caput Hominis*, the *post mortem* examination, the *bona fide* agreement, and Stevenson's *Virginibus Puerisque*.

When we take up perfect passive tenses, we discover that not only did Peter Piper pick a peck of pickled peppers, but also that the last principal part of a verb is the perfect passive participle.

After learning *qui, quae, quod*, we have found it helpful to decline it softly in chorus, stressing the gender we want in a given sentence—as *QUI, quae, quod*; *CUIUS, cuius, cuius*; *CUI, cui, cui*; *QUEM, quam quod*, and so on; or *qui, QUAE, quod*; *cuius, CUIUS, cuius*, and so on. In deciding whether to use "who" or "whom," we resort to the "is," "am," "are," "was," "were," and average verb scheme, and also try to remove some of the horror of diagramming a sentence. We diagram the sentence, "He is the man whom the car struck," doing the first half quickly and the last half more gradually. "Who" and "whom" may be complete mysteries, but by this time we can surely find the verb. Then we decide what struck the man, and put car in the position of the subject. That leaves only one space for the "who" or "whom." "Is," "am," "are," "was," "were"—"Is *struck* one of those?" "No"—and a direct object follows the average verb. So we do to "who" what we have done to a *puella* and a *mensa*, and "whom" is the direct object.

Near the end of the year the class does about fifty sentences from Caesar without ablatives absolute and without indirect discourse to give the better students a feeling of assurance about the second year. In the fall we take the first five weeks for review of vocabulary and constructions, and for the presentation of new constructions.

All this requires the cultivation of a desire to do work carefully and well. We do considerable chorus drill in tenses and declensions, and supplement the text with large numbers of sentences in Latin composition. A number of ninth-grade pupils who were utterly confused at first and did E or D work have progressed to strong C work and some are B students. The morale among weaker students is much better than it used to be when they faced a

second year of almost inevitable failure. They feel a genuine and much-needed pride in being able to read the Latin announcement of the Pope's election and the heading *Mare Nostrum* over a map of the Mediterranean in a newspaper.

VIRGINIA A. COOPER

IONIA (MICHIGAN) HIGH SCHOOL

Word Study

Eunice E. Kraft, of Western State Teachers' College, Kalamazoo, Michigan, contributes as a suggestion the following variation of the more usual dialogue about how words are formed. It was part of a program given by a group of first-year Latin pupils before the eighth grade of the College Training School.

- I. I'm *ponere* meaning "to put." *Positus* is my other form from which come many English words. I should like to have you meet a part—just a small part—of my large family.
- II. I represent Beethoven, who *put* fine musical ideas *together*. My first name is sometimes spelled "com" which means "together." They call me a *composer*.
- III. I work in a bank. When people *put* their money *down* on the counter, I list them as my *depositors*. My first name is "de."
- IV. Rags and old iron! Rags and old iron! I take the trash people wish to *put aside*. They say, "Let's *dispose* of that rubbish."
- V. I'm a detective named "ex." A crime has been committed. The law must *put* or *bring out* of their hiding places the evil men who did it. I *expose* them.
- VI. I'm "imp", the relative who comes to your house to stay a week and remains a month. I *put* myself *on* you. You say, "What an *imposition*!"
- VII. I'm *repose*. "Re" means *back*. After a long day of work and play, we *put* ourselves *back* in our beds and go to sleep. Do you remember the "Village Blacksmith" and the line, "Something accomplished, something done, has earned a night's repose"?

Suggestions

From Minola C. Williams, student teacher at the College of St. Francis, Joliet, Illinois, come two suggestions which may be used either for projects or merely for atmosphere in the classroom or in the Latin club.

OUR ROMAN FISH

Construct a small fish pond from a large pan or tub placed inside a square wooden box of the same depth. Fill the box around the pan with sand to give

the effect of the beach or shore. Put some ferns, shells, and "sea castles" commonly used in gold fish bowls inside the pan. The fish should be celluloid, different sizes of which can be bought. If not, some adept student can carve them out of wood or any suitable material. Place tags bearing the names *locusta*, "lobster"; *maena*, "herring"; *murena*, "moray"; *pisculus*, "little fish"; *pompilius*, "pilot fish."

BARNYARD FRIENDS AND PETS

From cardboard build a small model of a Roman villa with its inclosing wall, and the animals and birds appearing in the list below. Put the appropriate name on the back of each and distribute in the barnyard: *asellio* "a little ass"; *asinus*, "an ass"; *verres*, "a boar"; *scrofa*, "a sow"; *porcus*, "a pig"; *taurus*, "a bull"; *vitellus*, "a little calf"; *canis*, "a dog"; *catulus*, "a puppy"; *corvus*, "a raven"; *merula*, "a blackbird"; *muscula*, "a fly"; *noctua*, "a night owl"; *parra*, "a barn owl"; *passer*, "a sparrow."

With this project a game can readily be played. Call it "Sound Effect." Silhouette posters of the animals and birds may be hung on the bulletin board in the full view of the students. On the other side of the room the names of the animals thus pictured may be written in large letters on separate cards. When two students, the "sound effect" men, who are concealed behind a screen give the characteristic call of the various animals or birds, the students in their seats are, in turn, to remove the proper Latin name from the list and pin it under the picture with which it belongs.

Current Events

[Edited by George E. Lane, Thayer Academy, Braintree, Mass., for territory covered by the Association of New England and the Atlantic States; Dwight N. Robinson, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio, for the Middle States east of the Mississippi River; G. A. Harrer, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C., for the Southeastern States; Russel M. Geer, Tulane University, New Orleans, La., for the Lower Mississippi Valley and the Southwest; Alfred P. Dorjahn, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill., and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia., for the Middle Western States. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Fred L. Farley, College of the Pacific, Stockton, Calif.]

This department will present everything that is properly news of general appeal, but considerations of space compel the editors to ask that items be made as brief as possible. Whenever feasible, it is preferable to print programs of meetings which would draw an attendance from a large area as live news in advance of the date rather than as dead news after the event. In this connection it should be remembered that the December issue, e.g., appears on November fifteenth and that items must be in hand five or six weeks in advance of the latter date.]

Colorado—Boulder

Dr. George Norlin is retiring this year after twenty years as president of the University of Colorado. Before becoming president, Dr. Norlin was head of the Greek Department of the same institution for almost twenty years. During this long period of service both as teacher and executive he has published numerous articles and essays in addition to his masterly translation of the first two volumes of Isocrates in the "Loeb Classical Library." In 1932-1933 President Norlin delivered the lectures on American Life and Institutions at the University of Berlin as visiting professor on the Theodore Roosevelt Foundation.

President Norlin has a host of friends among the classicists of the United States, all of whom wish that, with executive duties left behind, he may enjoy many leisurely years of renewed acquaintance with his old friends, the Greeks and the Romans.

Indiana—Hanover

Since the Oberlin meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South requests have been received for extra copies of the song sheet used at the banquet. Those who wish to procure copies are asked to communicate with Professor Mars M. Westington, Hanover College, Hanover, Indiana.

University of Iowa—Professor F. H. Potter

Professor F. H. Potter was seventy years of age on July 5 and under the regulations of the University will go on half time in September after forty-four years of service. Under the auspices of the local chapter of Eta Sigma Phi a meeting was held in his honor on July 6. Letters and telegrams of tribute and congratulation were read from classical colleagues in the colleges of Iowa and adjoining states. Dr. Minnie Keys Flickinger read a sonnet which she had composed for the occasion.

University of Iowa—Professor Roy C. Flickinger

The North Central District of Phi Beta Kappa has elected Professor Roy C. Flickinger its candidate for Senator. Hitherto the Senate has consisted only of members elected at large, but hereafter one-half of the number will be chosen from the seven districts into which the country has been divided. The North Central District consists of Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Missouri, and Kansas, containing twenty-two chapters and graduate associations. A second candidate from this district will be chosen later and the choice between them will be made at the Triennial Council in September of 1940.

Classical Association of Kansas and Western Missouri

The Classical Association of Kansas and Western Missouri met with Mount St. Scholastica College at Atchison, Kansas, April 1. The morning program ran: Address of Welcome, Rev. Bonaventure Schwinn, Vice President of Mount St. Scholastica College; "Introducing Pupils to Latin," Ruth Bachelder, Effingham; "Varying the Classroom Procedure," Marie Moore, Atchison; "How to Preserve a Cultural Atmosphere," Sister Jerome Keeler, Mount St. Scholastica College; "Monastic Scriptoria and the Classics," Edward Schmitz, O.S.B., St. Benedict's; "Between Scylla and Charybdis," Winnie D. Lowrance, Kansas University; "The High-School Latin Texts of Kansas and Missouri," Bula M. Gardner, Kansas Wesleyan College; "How to Interest Prospective Latin Pupils and their Parents," Jean Robertson, Topeka; address, "Letters and Letter Carriers of Antiquity," Martin R. P. McGuire, Dean of the Graduate School, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.

As an after-luncheon talk, Maurice P. O'Keefe, of Atchison, gave a layman's reaction under the title, "Latin for our Sons and Daughters." In the afternoon the students of dramatic art gave "Scenes from the *Antigone*." This was followed by "Co-operation Among Classical Teachers," Sister Marie Antoinette, Marymount College; and an informal address entitled "Reflections on the Use of the Anthology Type of Latin Reader," by Dean McGuire.

The Kentucky Classical Association

The Kentucky Classical Association held its first meeting as an affiliate

of the Kentucky Education Association with a subscription luncheon at Louisville on April 13. Seventy-five persons from all parts of the state were present. The general theme of the program was "The Value of the Classics." The speakers were: Judge Richard Priest Dietzman, former Chief Justice of the Court of Appeals, "A Jurist Looks at the Value of the Classics"; Mrs. John L. Woodbury, former President-General of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, "A Clubwoman Looks at the Value of the Classics"; President Frank L. McVey, University of Kentucky, "An Educator Looks at the Value of the Classics." Miss Alta Jordan, Highlands High School, Fort Thomas, the president of the Association, presided. The luncheon and the program were arranged by a local committee composed of Jonah W. D. Skiles, Chairman; Miss Mary Stewart Duerson, of the Louisville Public Schools; and Brother Dennis Joseph, St. Xavier's High School, Louisville. It is the intention of the Association to hold a meeting each spring with the Kentucky Education Association in addition to the customary fall meeting. For the fall meeting of 1939 the Association will be the guests of Nazareth Junior College, near Bardstown. The date will be some time in the latter part of October or the first part of November.

Tom Wallace, editor of the *Louisville Times*, who is already well known to readers of the CLASSICAL JOURNAL for his editorials advocating the classics, addressed a breakfast meeting of Kappa Delta Pi, national honor fraternity of educators, on April 14, during the convention of the Kentucky Education Association. In its write-up of the day's activities of the Kentucky Education Association, the *Louisville Times* for the same day said: "Addressing a breakfast session of Kappa Delta Pi, teachers' professional fraternity, Tom Wallace, editor of the *Times*, regretted a tendency of schools, and even colleges, to drop Latin and Greek from curricula. 'Latin is necessary to a broad understanding of English and other modern languages,' said Mr. Wallace. 'Even if the cultural value of a college education is made secondary to its utility value, a graduate may be at a disadvantage in sundry callings by not knowing the so-called dead languages—which are not dead among cultivated people.'"

Massachusetts—Cambridge

The Harvard Classical Club on Friday and Saturday evenings, April 21 and 22, gave a brilliant performance of the *Birds* of Aristophanes. The production was under the direction of Dr. C. T. Murphy and Lawrence B. Leighton. The masks, costumes, and settings were designed by Dr. A. M. G. Little, who had charge of the very successful production of the *Mostellaria* three years ago. Special music was composed and directed by Leonard Bernstein, '39. There was an orchestra of thirteen pieces and a chorus of thirteen members. The lines were given with great spirit and vivacity, and afforded a long-to-be-remembered presentation of a Greek play as it was really acted two thousand years ago. The parts were admirably taken and all members of the cast were

worthy of the highest praise, but the acting of Peisthetairos (D. H. Davidson, '39) and the brilliant work of the leader of the chorus (F. Peachy, 3 G) deserve particular mention.

Massachusetts—Boston

The Classical Club of Greater Boston closed a very successful year on Saturday, May 27, with a luncheon at the College Club. The speaker was Mr. Horace M. Poynter, of Phillips Academy, who read a delightful paper entitled "Quos Honoris Causa Nomino."

The officers chosen for 1939-1940 are: president, Miss Jane Perkins, Brookline High School; vice-presidents, Cecil Derry, Cambridge Latin School; Dr. Elizabeth C. Evans, Wheaton College; Miss Grace Johnson, Belmont High School; secretary, George E. Lane, Thayer Academy; treasurer, Dr. George A. Land, Newton High School; censor, Miss Louise Packard, Winsor School.

Ohio—Cleveland

At the 113th commencement of Western Reserve University the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters was conferred upon Harold North Fowler, Professor Emeritus of Greek of Flora Stone Mather College of Western Reserve University. Professor Fowler is a graduate of Harvard University, studied in the American School at Athens, and received his Ph.D. degree from the University of Bonn. He was Professor of Greek of Mather College for thirty-six years, and three times on leave served as Professor in the American School at Athens. Upon his retirement he became consultant at the Library of Congress. He has written a number of books in the classical field.

Ohio—Wooster

The Classical Club of the College of Wooster and the Wooster chapter of Eta Sigma Phi again collaborated in the production, on May 22, 1939, of their seventh annual classical play, the *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus. The production was staged on Kauke Quadrangle under flood-lighting, before a large and appreciative audience from town and college. No small part of its success was due to the use of the sprightly translation by Professor Clarence P. Bill, of Western Reserve University.

Oklahoma—Edmond

An Institute for Teachers of Latin was conducted by Dr. Jessie D. Newby, June 17 to 24 inclusive at Central State College, Edmond, Oklahoma. Each morning there were demonstration classes at eight and ten o'clock. At four in the afternoon panel discussions were held, and special lectures were given at eight each evening.

The topics of the panel discussions were "First Year Approaches," "Idioms and

Vocabulary Discussions after the First Year," "Translation and Its Scoring," and "The Third Year Problem." Special lectures were given by Dr. John O. Moseley on "Roman Law," by Dr. Newby on "Roman and Greek Coins," and also on the "Mostra Augustea della Romanita," by Dr. Charles E. Little, of George Peabody College for Teachers, on "The Position of the Classics in the Education of Teachers," and "The Truth About Latin," and by Dr. Edward Howard Griggs on "Erasmus, the Humanist."

There were twenty-seven enrollments from Missouri, Texas, and Oklahoma. In addition there was an attendance of 350 at the special lectures, and a thousand or more at each of the general assembly lectures of Dr. Little and Dr. Griggs.

An unusual feature of the Institute was a visit Sunday afternoon to the Museum of Antiquities at St. Gregory's College, near Shawnee.

Pennsylvania—Philadelphia

The Classical Club of Philadelphia, organized in 1895, held its 260th consecutive meeting on Friday evening, April 28, 1939. The first meeting of the scholastic year, November 4, 1938, had as its object the celebration of the Augustan Bimillennium. The program was as follows: "Some Aspects of the Augustan Recovery Program," T. R. S. Broughton, Bryn Mawr College; "The Associates of Augustus," (illustrated), Lucius Rogers Shero, Swarthmore College; "The Imperialism of Augustus," Allan C. Johnson, Princeton University.

Other programs were: December meeting, "The Translators of Horace," Donald S. Baker, Ursinus College; January meeting, "Classical and Historical Scenes of the Mediterranean," (illustrated), W. R. Ridington, University of Western Maryland; February meeting, "Is there Life in the Homeric Question?" Rhys Carpenter, Bryn Mawr College.

At the final meeting of the Club for the year, held jointly with the Classical Association of the Atlantic States in Philadelphia, April 28-29, the following papers were read by members of the Club: "Menander's Place by Current Standards," L. A. Post, Haverford College; "The Status of Latin in the Public Schools of Pennsylvania," E. H. Heffner, University of Pennsylvania; "Cleopatra's War Chest," T. R. S. Broughton, Bryn Mawr College.

Professor H. Lamar Crosby, University of Pennsylvania, and Director of the Classical School at Athens, 1938-39, will be the speaker at the first meeting in the fall. The officers for the ensuing year are: president, Lucius Rogers Shero, Swarthmore College; vice-president, John Flagg Gummere, Penn Charter School; secretary-treasurer, E. S. Gerhard, Northeast High School, Philadelphia.

Our Subscribers Abroad

In a generation allegedly becoming more and more estranged from classical learning, it is interesting to note the important contrary evidence presented

by the growth and expansion of our own CLASSICAL JOURNAL. Far from declining since its first issuance, it has grown to a point where today it reaches the readers of six continents. The mailing list for the CLASSICAL JOURNAL shows that, in addition to being mailed into all the states of the United States and all the provinces of Canada, it is sent to Alaska, Austria, Belgium, Ecuador, Bermuda, Cuba, Chile, Canal Zone, Czecho-Slovakia, England, Egypt, British Honduras, France, Greece, Germany, Hawaii, Holland, Irish Free State, India, Italy, Japan, Principauté de Monaco, Philippine Islands, New Zealand, South Africa, South Australia, Sweden, and Turkey.

E. MORGAN

In Memoriam—Anna Susan Jones

From the minutes of the Oberlin meeting we quote: "This Association wishes to express its deep sense of loss at the passing of Miss Anna Susan Jones, of Grand Rapids, Michigan, who died at Glendale, California, where she had lived since her retirement eight years ago. One of the most enthusiastic and scholarly classical teachers of the past generation, she inspired uncounted numbers of students in her forty years of teaching in Central High School of Grand Rapids, Michigan.

"She infused into her classes such spirit and vitality that her pupils were more than usually impressed by the humanity and beauty of the subject, and thereby themselves inspired to become teachers of the same subject."

Classical Articles in Non-Classical Periodicals

[Compiled by Professor Adolph Frederick Pauli and John William Spaeth, Jr., of Wesleyan University.]

Anglican Theological Review XXI (1939).—(April: 103-112) Livingstone Porter, "The Word *ἐπισκοπος* in Pre-Christian Usage." From the original significance of the word developed two meanings. "First, what we might call an indefinite overseer, that is a watchman, a protector, a patron. . . . Secondly, that of a definite overseer, an officeholder with definite, ordinarily technical and financial duties, and, occasionally, with diplomatic functions."

Asia XXXIX (1939).—(July: 413-418) Hetty Goldman, "The Mound of Tarsus." An account of the investigations made by Miss Goldman during the past five years at Gözlü Kule, a mound near modern Tarsus. Levels of culture dated before 2500 have been uncovered. There are sixteen photographic illustrations.

The Bodleian Library Record I (1938).—(December 1938: 27-29) Robert C. Mortimer, "Oratio Bodleiana . . . MDCCCXXXVIII." Continues the custom, inaugurated in 1682, of annually praising Sir Thomas Bodley and encouraging Hebrew studies. All the orations have been in Latin but this one might be the last in that tongue.

Bulletin of The John Rylands Library XXIII (1939).—(April: 107-150) K. M. T. Atkinson, "Athenian Legislative Procedure and Revision of Laws." ". . . there are many reasons which make it hard to accept Kahrstedt's view that Nomothetae took the place of the Demos in the making of laws (Nomoi) 'without limitation'. . . . The whole system is admirably summed up by Pollux, who says, 'There were 1000 Nomothetae, and they had power to abolish an old law, but not to set up a new one. For the new laws were scrutinized by the Boule, the Ecclesia, and the law-courts'." (166-181) Leslie Webber Jones, "Dom Victor Perrin and Three Manuscripts of Luxeuil." Descriptions of three manuscripts which are "presumably products of Luxeuil and as such are important examples of its script in the ninth and tenth century." That these manuscripts "were present at Luxeuil at the beginning of the eighteenth century" is evidenced by the descriptions of them made by Dom Victor Perrin. There are three photographic illustrations.

E.L.H., A Journal of English Literary History VI (1939).—(June: 138-164) Thomas Pyles, "Tempest in Teapot: Reform in Latin Pronunciation." An excellent historical account: "Evidence abounds to show that from the earliest times the English, despite the efforts of foreign teachers, made little effort

to conform to any model in the pronunciation of Latin save that of their own language. Indeed, the same conformity to the pattern furnished by the vernacular is to be observed in the pronunciation of Latin by the various continental nations. . . . I should think it perfectly safe to say that the reformers [i.e. advocates of the Roman, or classical, pronunciation] have had a complete victory in America . . . In England the triumph of scholarship (or pedantry, as the staunch traditionalists would call it) over tradition has been gradual, and is not yet complete."

The English Journal xxviii (1939).—(June: 460-468) Joseph E. Baker, "Sinclair Lewis, Plato, and the Regional Escape." "Sinclair Lewis has portrayed men who represent the last three stages in Plato's picture of social decay—the Babbitt, his 'democratic' son, and the tyrant. . . . To see . . . [Lewis' picture of social degeneration] in a proper frame we may turn to Spengler, whose scheme of historical development is merely an elaboration of Plato's, applied to the modern West."

Harper's Magazine clxxix (1939).—(June: 64-75) Milton S. Mayer, "Socrates Crosses the Delaware." An enthusiastically favorable description of the educational program at St. John's College in Annapolis, in which the primary purpose is to educate through the study of a group of carefully selected great books of all times, "the original sources of our civilization . . . instead of reading books about masters, or books about books about masters, the St. Johnnies, students and faculty alike, sit at the feet of the masters themselves." Greek and Latin classics are included in the list of books.

The Illustrated London News cxciv (1939).—(February 18: 246-248) Sven Larsen, "A Combined Lourdes-Carlsbad of Antiquity: New Revelations in the Great Temple of Asklepios (Aesculapius) at Pergamon, Where Remarkably 'Modern' Methods of Treatment Were Practised." This Asklepieion, which was established in the fourth century B.C., was "one of the three famous health-resorts of antiquity." Aelius Aristides wrote a minute account of the institution. Twelve photographic illustrations and a plan are given. (March 18: 417-419) C. H. Inge, "Where A Murdered British Archaeologist had Done Great Work: New Results at Lachish Since the Assassination of Mr. Starkey. . . ." Included in these discoveries were "a large cave, used towards the end of the thirteenth century B.C. as a potter's workshop," and "the earliest concrete example of the conventional order of the first five letters of the Hebrew-Phoenician alphabet." There are eighteen photographic illustrations, two drawings, and a map. (430 f.) Allan Sorrell, artist, "The Only Town Established by the Romans in Wales: Venta Silurum, Founded in the First Century A.D., After the Conquest of the Silures, As the Local Capital—A Reconstruction Drawing (Based on Excavations at Caerwent) Showing It at Its Zenith in the Third Century." A two-page colored drawing with a descriptive note prepared by V. E. Nash-Williams. (April 22: 682 f.) Evert Barger, "Opening Up a Rich New Field of Archaeological Research in Central

Asia: The Pioneer Exploration of the Oxus Territories in Northern Afghanistan. . . . "A collection of coins and of Greek and Sassanid seals" was made. At Kunduz the expedition found the bases of three Greek stone columns. "Greek kings ruled the greater part of the territories of modern Afghanistan and Russian Turkestan for almost two centuries after Alexander had conquered Western Asia. . . ." There are ten photographic illustrations and a map. (May 6: 782) Anonymous, two photographic illustrations, accompanied by a brief note, of a "bust of pure gold, weighing over $3\frac{1}{2}$ pounds, which was discovered on April 20 at Avrenches, Switzerland." It is believed to be a representation of the Roman emperor Antoninus Pius. (790 f.) Arthur Upham Pope, "Prehistoric Bronzes of a Hitherto Unknown Type, Bearing Magic 'Moon-Goats' and Sun-Masks, Found in Iran." Most of the objects are pins "with flat disc heads" on which are symbolic designs in low *repoussé* referring to the moon and the sun. The author concludes that the bronzes represent a culture of the last century in the second millennium B.C., which shows connections with four other cultures, and that all five are derived from a common source, possibly "Aryan." There are nine photographic illustrations and one map. (June 3: 979-981) Karl W. Blegen, "'Nestor's Palace' at Pylos Yields the First Mycenaean Inscribed Tablets Ever Found on the Greek Mainland: An Epoch-Making Discovery at the Place Where Homer Relates Nestor Entertained Telemachus." About 600 tablets were discovered in what seems to have been a room for the palace archives. The writing on the few that have been cleaned "is essentially the same as the script designated by Sir Arthur Evans at Knossos as Linear, Class B." There are eleven photographic illustrations, one map and a table of groups of characters.

Italy America Review IV (1939).—(January: 8) Anonymous, "Augustan Art at the Metropolitan Museum." A note and one photographic illustration. (9-11) Clarence Beardslee, "The Ara Pacis Augustae." A brief history of the monument, including the recent excavations beneath the palazzo Fiano. There is one photographic illustration.

The Journal of English and Germanic Philology XXXVIII (1939).—(April: 229-232) Harris Fletcher, "Milton's Homer." A study of the *Marginalia* in Milton's own copy of Pindar enabled the author to identify "most, if not all, of the tools that Milton used when he read or studied Homer." These are "the great edition of Eustathius with the masses of critical apparatus printed in Greek, the smaller edition of Spondanus with the text in Greek and the critical apparatus in Latin, and probably the annotations of Hadrian Junius. . . ."

The Journal of Theological Studies XL (1939).—(January: 46-55) C. C. Tarelli, "The Chester Beatty Papyrus and the Caesarean Text." A criticism of the "general disposition to treat the Chester Beatty papyrus as a witness to the Caesarean text in the Gospel of Mark." (56 f.) F. G. Kenyon, "Papyrus Rolls and the Endings of St. Mark." A note on the significance of writing the

title of a work at the end of a roll. (April: 113-132) J. Hempel, "Prophet and Poet." The author investigated "some parallels between the self-consciousness of the prophets and that of the Greek poets, especially the master of tragedy, Aeschylus." (149-151) F. R. Montgomery Hitchcock, "The Meaning of ἐκκλέειν in Galatians iv, 17." References are made to passages in Greek and Latin literature. "I submit that he used ἐκκλέειν in the Latin sense of 'excludere,' hatch out, and ζῆλον after the Latin use of 'fovere' in the same connexion."

PAULI

The Juridical Review LI (1939).—(March: 11-22) David Daube, "Tres Personae Possunt Dictione Dotis Obligari." A detailed discussion of a point in Roman Law. "I believe that the rule excluding the debtor of the ancestor is the result, not so much of a deliberate policy, as of historical chance."

Modern Language Notes LIV (1939).—(April: 267-272) Hans M. Wolff, "Der Zerbrochene Krug und König Oidipus." A discussion to show that Kleist's drama actually was not greatly indebted to the tragedy of Sophocles, as some have been prone to believe.

Modern Language Review XXXIV (1939).—(April: 245-248) James A. Notopoulos, "The Dating of Shelley's Notes and Translations from Plato."

More Books (Bulletin of the Boston Public Library) xiv (1939).—(March: 95-105) Honor McCusker, "A xiiith Century Manuscript of St. Jerome." This interesting article contains, besides a description of the manuscript—"the Library's latest addition to its manuscript collection,"—appreciative biographical sketches of Jerome and Eusebius. (May: 205 f.) E. S., "A Virgil Travesty." A brief discussion of Charles Cotton's *Scarronides or, Virgile Travestie* (London, 1664), a mock "translation" of the first book of the *Aeneid*.

National Review CXII (1939).—(April: 517 f.) Demetrius Calclamanos, "Where Divine Ilissus Flowed." A prose lament over the proposed draining of the Ilissus, to be "done at the expense of the Greek treasury, but also at that of legend, romance, and history."

Philological Quarterly XVIII (1939).—(January: 52-72) Carroll Camden, "Memory, The Warder of the Brain." A section (64-66) of this essay deals briefly with the discussions of "artificial memory" or mnemonics to be found in ancient authors—Plato, Xenophon, Aristotle, Cicero, Seneca, Pliny the Elder, Quintilian, Martianus Capella.

Publications of the Modern Language Association of America LIV (1939).—(March: 212-222) Abraham C. Keller, "Plutarch and Rousseau's First Discourse." Plutarch was one of Rousseau's favorite authors, one whom he "kept as a constant companion and read continually." It is not surprising, then, as this article shows, that the Greek author, along with Montaigne, was "an outstanding source of the *Discours sur les Arts et les Sciences*" (1749-1750).

Quarterly Journal of Speech xxv (1939).—(April: 212 f.) Ramon L. Irwin, "The Classical Speech Divisions." Brief discussion of the *partitiones oratoriae* as treated by Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian, leading to the conclusion "that the famous 'classical order' of a speech consists actually of only four divisions: exordium (opening, proem), narration (statement), proof (argument), and peroration (epilogue)."

Quarterly Review cclxxii (1939).—(April: 221-234) Richard M. Gummere, "Ancient Classics in a Modern World." A reasoned plea for a revision of our aims and methods in the teaching of the classics. Our processes should be "based upon a clarifying utilitarianism," which in past epochs of history, it is shown, has "brought about a renewed interest in these very classics" and eventually has "idealized itself into great movements in new directions." In the college curriculum provision should be made for studying particular phases of the ancient literatures suitable as important concomitants (and supplements) of various primary studies. Specific examples are given to show how this has been and can be done. "And if we adherents of the classics do not wake to a realization of modern trends which must somehow be met and not ignored, we might as well migrate to some other type of work, or to some Elysium where we dwell solely upon the happy past."

Religion in Life viii (1939).—(Winter Number: 61-70) William P. Lemon, "Religion in Account with Classical Literature." An interesting essay, well supplied with illustration, maintaining the thesis that "to the student of theology, the knowledge of the classics can be a corrective both of the blinkers of professional piety and for spiritual vested interests . . . no less a thinker than Paul appealed in Greece to 'certain of your own poets.' . . . It would not be hard to show that many of the themes that are now the headlines of our souls are akin to those that confronted the writers of the Greek and Latin classics." (97-108) C. C. McCown, "Two Years' Achievements in Palestinian Archaeology." A survey of work done since April, 1936, with sections on Paleontology and Prehistory, Lachish, History of the Alphabet, Megiddo, The Egyptian Border, Jerusalem, Galilee, Umayyad Palaces, Transjordan, and the Byzantine Period.

Romanic Review xxx (1939).—(February: 26-38) Lacy Lockert, "Racine's *Berenice*." A critical study of this "pseudo-classical play."

School and Society xlix (1939).—(February 11: 178 f.) G. A. Miller, "Solution of Equations by the Ancients." The author observes "that in a certain important sense it may be said that none of the ancients solved completely even a special algebraic equation besides those of the first degree. . . ."

Sewanee Review xlvii (1939).—(April-June: 184-203) L. Robert Lind, "The Crisis in Literature, II. Propaganda and Letters." The first few pages survey instances of propaganda in Greek and Latin literature.

South Atlantic Quarterly xxxviii (1939).—(April: 142-157) Harold W. Miller, "Greek Tragedy, Oratorio, and Opera." A critical study of these

three dramatic forms to emphasize the organic similarity which later musical drama, after the introduction of monody, bears to its ancient prototype. "In comparing modern form with ancient, it is necessary to understand that, as diverse forms and elements blend into one continuous stream of development in Greek tragedy, so the diverse elements of opera and oratorio merge into a continuous stream of development which is comparable to that of Greek tragedy." The early operatic composers were strikingly conscious "of the vital kinship which exists between the ancient and modern expressions of an identical art form." This is particularly apparent in the work of Wagner. But, besides, "it is probable that the influence of Greek tragedy unconsciously exerted upon the later form was far more enduring than even the enlightened composers understood."

Studies in Philology xxxvi (1939).—(April: 169–191) Donald Smalley, "The Ethical Bias of Chapman's *Homer*." Chapman "read into Homer the doctrines which he himself had come to accept as truth." It is his "conception of the 'learned man' and the 'learned man's' relationship to God which chiefly colors and unifies his translation of both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*." (206–226) G. F. Sensabaugh, "John Ford and Platonic Love in the Court." (405–411) Don C. Allen, "Recent Literature of the Renaissance, F. Neo-Latin." A bibliography.

Times Literary Supplement (London) xxxviii (1939).—(No. 1942, April 22: 229 and 232) "The Cambridge Histories. Last Volume on the Ancient World: 'Constantine and the Church.'" An extended review of *The Cambridge Ancient History*, volume xii. (233) "The Cambridge Histories." An editorial on the completion of the series.

Journal of the Warburg Institute ii (1939).—(January: 194–205) Rudolf Wittkower, "Transformations of Minerva in Renaissance Imagery." Illustrated by 3 pages of plates. (206–218) Edgar Wind, "'Hercules' and 'Orpheus': Two Mock-Heroic Designs by Durer." With 2 pages of illustrations. (266–268) George Clutton, "'Termaximus': A Humanist Jest." Explanation of a Latin epithet applied to Erasmus, to his discomfiture, by his friend Ulrich Zasius. (269–271) E[dgar] W[ind], "Durer's 'Männerbad': A Dionysian Mystery." This woodcut by Durer, "a broadly humorous travesty of the Dionysian mysteries of inspiration and purification, of *Systole* and *Diastole*," is to be regarded as a "footnote" to a passage in Plato's *Republic* (v, 475d). One page of illustrations. (271–276) A[nthony] B[lunt], "The Triclinium in Religious Art." The tendency of post-Renaissance artists "to render biblical feast scenes with the figures recumbent on couches came from the archaeologists. From the beginning of the 16th century painters had used the evidence of ancient monuments about the correct arrangement of classical feasts." Two pages of illustrations.

SPAETH